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# SOLANUS

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series Vol. 3 1989







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# The 'Journal de St Pétersbourg' Printing House

Valentina Fedorova

In the history of Russian printing the 1840s are characterized as a time of remarkable growth both in the number of printing houses and in output. Towards the end of the decade St Petersburg alone had around forty printing houses. This number of course bears no comparison with the thousands of print and lithography shops which existed in Western Europe, 'But, considering conditions in Russia at the time,' writes the historian M. N. Kufaev, 'we can only wonder that printing was able to expand rather than decline.'<sup>1</sup> From the end of the 1830s the government adopted a number of measures which hindered the development of printing throughout the country. Notably, the law of 1829 transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs the right of granting permission to establish a press, thus rescinding the decree of 15 January 1783, under which any person had been allowed to set up an independent press 'without asking permission from anyone', providing that the local police were notified.<sup>2</sup> However, despite a variety of obstacles raised by the authorities, some independent presses achieved great success in the 1840s. The best of these in St Petersburg were the printing houses of A. Pliushar, I. Glazunov, A. Smirdin, M. Ol'khin and the 'Journal de St Pétersbourg'. It was during this period that the 'Journal de St Pétersbourg' produced a succession of first-rate publications, exemplifying all that is best in Russian book illustration and design.

In the standard literature, for example the works of G. N. Gennadi, N. G. Ovsiannikov, N. G. Lisovskii, D. V. Ul'ianinskii, A. V. Mez'er, V. A. Adariukov and a number of others, there is absolutely no information to be found on the 'Journal de St Pétersbourg',<sup>3</sup> and those few publications which refer to the press variously as 'new', 'first-rate' and 'exemplary' (the works of

<sup>1</sup> M. N. Kufaev, *Istoriia russkoi knigi v XIX veke s risunkami* (Leningrad, 1927), p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 21 (St Petersburg, 1830), no. 15634.

<sup>3</sup> See G. N. Gennadi, 'Svedeniia o russkikh bibliografakh, bibliofilakh, tipografiakh i knigoprodavtsov', in *Literatura russkoi bibliografii. Opis' bibliograficheskikh knig i statei, izdannyykh v Rossii*, sost. G. N. Gennadi (St Petersburg, 1858), pp. 159-64; *Materialy po istorii russkoi knizhnoi torgovli*, pod redaktsiei P. A. Efremova (St Petersburg, 1879); N. M. Lisovskii, 'Tri knigoprodavtsa proshedshego vremeni', *Bibliograf*, 1892, no. 1, pp. 38-44; D. V. Ul'ianinskii, 'Otdel'nye predpriiatia po tipografскому, izdatel'skomu i perepletnomu delu', in *Biblioteka D. V. Ul'ianinskogo. Bibliograficheskoe opisanie*, vol. 2: *Bibliografiia* (Moscow, 1912), pp. 724-88; A. V. Mez'er, 'Izdateli i knigoprodavtsy, izdatel'skie i knigoprodavcheskie firmy', in his *Slovarnyi ukazatel' po knigovedeniiu* (Leningrad, 1924), pp. 365-404 and 857-66; V. Ia. Adariukov, 'Portrety izdatelei i khudozhnikov russkoi knigi', in *Kniga v Rossii*, vol. 2: *Russkaia kniga deviatnadtsatogo veka*, pod redaktsiei V. Ia. Adariukova i A. A. Sidorova (Moscow, 1925), pp. 481-520.

A. A. Sidorov, M. N. Kufaev and N. P. Smirnov-Sokol'skii)<sup>4</sup> fail to mention the name of its 'pressman', i.e. the owner of the press—Court Counsellor Count Eduard Aleksandrovich Sanse (1797–1875). The story of the founding of this press is recounted by the well-known man of letters and publisher of the time, Nikolai Ivanovich Grech. In his *Zapiski* we read:

Pliushar was summoned to Petersburg in order to set up a decent press at the M[inistry] of F[oreign] A[ffairs], which had started a small octavo journal entitled *Journal du Nord*, intended to counter the French journals of Napoleon, who was at that time at war with Russia. When the Peace of Tilsit was concluded the journal declined and it managed to drag out its existence until 1812; then it took on a new lease of life, the editorship passed to Mr. Faber and from 1814 it began to come out three times a week in quarto under the title *Le Conservateur Impartial*. Then it became the *Journal de St Pétersbourg* and was published by Count de Sanse, at first three times a week, then six. In 1855 the Ministry handed over the journal to the bookseller Diufur [...] Standards were highest when it was published by Count Sanse.<sup>5</sup>

A letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs has survived, addressed to the Minister of Education, S. S. Uvarov, in which it is stated that 'with the gracious permission of His Most Imperial Majesty, it is proposed that the newspaper which was entrusted to my Ministry [the *Journal de St Pétersbourg*] be re-formed [...] The paper is to be published by Court Counsellor Count Sanse, who for this purpose is permitted to set up his own press in St Petersburg.'<sup>6</sup>

Having received permission to publish a newspaper, Sanse became smitten by publishing, and in his excellently equipped printing house on Kirpichnyi pereulok in the house of Shitt he began to take orders for 'the printing of books in all European languages, pamphlets, circulars, bills, formal addresses, etc.'<sup>7</sup> His publishing venture, in collaboration with 'the skilful printer Blank', was an immediate success. Once he had become the owner of a printing house, Sanse, like the early nineteenth-century patrons of printing P. P. Beketov and Count N. P. Rumiantsev, gave up all his leisure and a part of his income to the task of creating elegant, finely printed books illustrated with high-quality engravings. Boldly setting up in competition with the best Western publishers in the field, he sought to give to his books their own inimitable character and

<sup>4</sup> A. A. Sidorov, 'Iskusstvo russkoi knigi', in *Kniga v Rossii* (note 3), p. 237, and 'Sorokovye gody', pp. 199–239; M. N. Kufaev (note 3), pp. 125–6; Nik. Smirnov-Sokol'skii, *Moia biblioteka. Bibliograficheskoe opisanie*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1969), pp. 356–7.

<sup>5</sup> N. I. Grech, *Zapiski o moei zhizni* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1930), pp. 280–1.

<sup>6</sup> Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv SSSR (TsGIA), opis' 1, chast' 1, 1839, no. 1238.

<sup>7</sup> *Adres-kalendar' Sanktpeterburgskikh zhitelei, sostavlennyy po ofitsial'nym dokumentam i svedeniiam K. Nistremom* (St Petersburg, 1844), vol. 3, p. 520.



to prove that Russians could without aid or assistance publish just as well as foreigners. Seeking clarity and beauty of impression, he was one of the first printers in St Petersburg neither to use ready-made types from abroad nor to set up his own type-foundry (a practice which was common among independent and state publishers); instead, he went to Revil'on's foundry, set up at the beginning of the 1830s, and in one of his publications (*Nashi, spisannye s natury russkimi*), printed in 1841, he was the first press-owner to include this information on the title page.

Being simply a patron and 'lover of the Muses' with no publishing expertise, Sanse brought in people with appropriate skills and experience. When he launched his publishing career in 1840 with I. P. Miatlev's novel-trilogy in verse *Sensatsii i zamechaniia gospozhi Kurdiukovoi za granitseiu*, he invited Grech to act as director, inspector and corrector. His choice of Miatlev's macaronic pun as a first publication was a deliberate one, intended to attract as much publicity as possible for the press. 'For the majority of the reading public', wrote Karamzin, 'this sort of work offers the greatest fascination, engaging the heart and the imagination, presenting a picture of the world and people like ourselves in interesting situations.'<sup>8</sup> As a rule, books of this kind were published at the expense of author and publisher; reader demand was of little account. They did not make a profit, since the majority of copies were distributed among the publisher's friends and only a few were put on sale.

Miatlev's novel in verse, conceived as a trilogy, was published over a period of five years: 'Ot'ezd. Germaniia' in 1840, 'Shveitsariia' in 1843 and 'Italiia' in 1844. The *Sensatsii* were sold in 'contemporary' bindings, i.e. soft, paper 'publishers' wrappers, sometimes uncut. The price of the book was relatively high. In 1846 all three parts were being sold at M. D. Ol'khin's bookshop for nine roubles,<sup>9</sup> and at the same time M. P. Lambin's *Istoriia Petra Velikogo*, published in 1843 with 600 illustrations, was on sale at fifteen roubles, a price which Belinskii called 'outrageously' high. Some copies of part one of the trilogy were issued in deluxe bindings of dark blue and dark green stamped morocco, with gilt edges. They were probably intended as presentation copies and were never put on sale. According to the bibliophile N. P. Smirnov-Sokol'skii, 'apparently, very few such copies were produced'.<sup>10</sup>

A galaxy of talented artists took part in the production of the *Sensatsii*. The book was illustrated by the graphic artist, painter and lithographer Vasilii Fedorovich (Georg Wilhelm) Timm (1820–1895), who was the son of the Mayor of Riga and who had studied at the Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts.

<sup>8</sup> N. M. Karamzin, 'O knizhnoi torgovle', *Vestnik Evropy* 2 (1802), p. 60.

<sup>9</sup> *Sistematicheskii reestr russkim knigam s 1831 po 1846 god*, izd. M. D. Ol'khina (St Petersburg, 1846), p. 319, no. 6722.

<sup>10</sup> Nik. Smirnov-Sokol'skii (note 4), p. 356.





Illustration by Timm for *Sensatsii*, pt. 3. *Shveitsariia* (original page size 275 × 170mm)



His pen-and-ink drawings were engraved by Konstantin Karlovich Klodt fon Iurgensburg (1807–1879), the teacher of the first Russian wood-engravers and brother and pupil of the famous sculptor Klodt. In parts two and three Timm's drawings were engraved by G. Link and G. Greim. Belinskii, who considered any literary work a 'social act, great and important, a source of moral enjoyment, of keen delight', reacted extremely coldly to Miatlev's verse, but greatly admired the book as a whole, being the first to point out its aesthetic qualities and the skill of its printing. 'This book', he wrote, 'must count as one of the most remarkable phenomena of the world of printing, it merits the greatest attention and the most flattering of praise on account of its stereotype pictures and vignettes,—this it deserves even regardless of its text, which merely accompanies the splendidly devised and executed pictures and vignettes. Altogether, the book has been printed with a splendour and elegance rarely to be found in Russia.'<sup>11</sup>

In 1841 the printing house published a series of small, illustrated books, each eight to ten pages long, about 'Our ... native manners, habits and oddities', under the general title *Nashi, spisannye s natury russkimi*. Their editor Aleksandr Pavlovich Bashutskii was (according to I. I. Panaev) 'a dreamer who weaves his fancies into phrases which at first he simply admires, not believing them, but then gets so carried away that he takes them seriously'. 'He undertook everything on a grand, extravagant scale, calculating in terms of tens and hundreds of thousands, but his literary and other ventures almost always foundered and brought him nothing but losses.'<sup>12</sup> Bashutskii produced the 'first luxury edition' in cooperation with the publisher and bookseller Ia. A. Isakov and Count Sanse. Sanse ordered special paper from the factory of Gobert and Vargunin, and he used once again Revil'on's types and ornaments. He commissioned the first-rate artists V. F. Timm, I. S. Shchedrovskii and T. G. Shevchenko, and also the engravers E. K. Klodt, G. V. Deriker and Baron O. P. Nettel'gorst.

Seeking to attract as many subscribers as possible, the publishers advertised widely, placing on the inside covers of the first four issues detailed 'explanations and announcements about this publication'. However, in spite of the fact that its pages were so fashionably decorated with wood engravings and in spite of its relatively moderate price—numbers one to twelve cost forty silver copecks and only from number thirteen was the price raised to seventy copecks—there were too few subscribers, and the costly enterprise had to be abandoned with the fourteenth issue. This publication also found favour with Belinskii who, drawing attention in particular to the splendid quality of its

<sup>11</sup> V. G. Belinskii, 'Sensatsii i zamechaniia gospozhi Kurdiukovoi za granitseiu ...', in his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 13 vols. (Moscow, 1953–9), 5, p. 165.

<sup>12</sup> N. Smirnov-Sokol'skii, *Rasskazy o knigakh* (Moscow, 1960), p. 366.





G. G. Gagarin's frontispiece for *Tarantas* (original page size 300 × 230mm)



physical make-up, remarked with pride that 'in the field of finely printed luxury editions we can, with our own means and resources, sometimes rival Europe itself'.<sup>13</sup>

The third best illustrated book of the 1840s (in the estimation of A. A. Sidorov), published at this same printing house, was Sollogub's *Tarantas*—the story of a journey made by the two heroes Ivan Vasil'evich and Vasilii Ivanovich in a tarantass. The story of how it came to be conceived and composed is told in a letter from Sollogub to the literary historian, critic and educator M. F. De-Pule:

If I am not mistaken, in 1835 I travelled to the Simbirsk countryside via Kazan' with the young Gagarin, who later became Vice-President of the Academy of Fine Arts. On the journey he sketched some enchanting vignettes and I began making up a story to go with them, for an album. We brought it back to Petersburg where it passed from hand to hand. In Petersburg ... no publishers were to be found. It was not until some eight or ten years later that a patron was found, one [A. I.] Ivanov, who undertook to publish the album on condition that Gagarin completed the drawings and I the text, which we did post-haste. Five thousand copies were printed. The book was a great success. Sadly, the manuscript disappeared and many unpublished vignettes were lost.<sup>14</sup>

In his recollections Sollogub errs somewhat against truth. Most of the illustrations in his book were not by G. G. Gagarin, but by the artist A. A. Agin. Gagarin's drawings tend to reflect ethnographical themes while Agin's convey the meaning of the text and capture its most vivid events. All the drawings were engraved on wood by E. E. Bernadskii, G. P. Greim and G. V. Deriker. The frontispiece, drawn by Gagarin, is illuminated in watercolours. Half the edition was printed on ivory paper and sold for five silver roubles, the other half on vellum and its price was accordingly lower—four silver roubles. Tastefully and skilfully printed, the edition was well received in artistic and cultural circles. Belinskii had something to say about this book too. In his critique of it, he wrote: 'Farewell, Tarantass! Farewell, intelligent, gifted and—most important—useful book.'<sup>15</sup>

*Tarantas*, published in 1845, was one of the press's last offspring. Sanse did, in the same year, help to publish *Fiziologiia Peterburga, sostavlennaia iz trudov russkikh literatorov*, edited by N. A. Nekrasov with the assistance of the bookseller A. I. Ivanov, but only the first part. Part two was published at the press of Eduard Prats. In 1849 Sanse published a small miscellany for children entitled *Detskaia karmannaia biblioteka. Moskva. Al'manakh na 1849 god*. It is possible that it was intended as the beginning of a series of similar

<sup>13</sup> V. G. Belinskii (note 11), 5, p. 602.

<sup>14</sup> V. A. Sollogub, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1931), pp. 648–9.

<sup>15</sup> V. G. Belinskii (note 11), 9 (1955), p. 341.





И метлы, и кочерги, и всѣ мерзкія уродливыя гадины  
понеслись, помчались, полетѣли Ивану Васильевичу въ по-  
гоню. «Постой, постой! кричали хриплые голоса:— ату его!...

Illustration by Agin for *Tarantias* (original page size 300 × 230mm)



books, each to be on a particular Russian town, but it seems that no more were published. Unfortunately, the identity of others involved in its production is not known. No names of editor, publisher, artist or engraver appear on the title page. Lavishly decorated with a lithographed title page and ten hand-coloured illustrations, it was the last illustrated book to be printed at the 'Journal de St Pétersbourg' Printing House.

So, in the space of one decade, the printing house published a relatively small number of illustrated editions. However, in the general context of the evolution of Russian book design and illustration, it perhaps played a more significant role than any other press of the period. It was one of the first presses to master the more flexible, more advanced, more 'organic' technique of reproducing illustrations—wood engraving. It realised the virtues of wood engraving, its artistic expressiveness, its compositional possibilities. At the same time, the books which it produced were, for economic, commercial, ethical and other reasons, accessible only to the élite. Books illustrated by means of original or stereotype engravings were, according to Belinskii, 'so outrageously expensive that they could not be used widely as reading books'.<sup>16</sup> So it was that these splendidly produced publications came out in small print runs, and those which were planned as series ceased publication after less than a year. However, despite all its negative aspects, the Russian illustrated book of the 1840s was important in one respect: the aspiration of its creators to combine all the elements of book production into one organic whole. The selfless collaborative efforts of all those who joined in creating the book, from author, artist, publisher, printer to bookseller, were almost always crowned by success and, not infrequently, ensured for the book fame not only in its lifetime but also in the future. Of this, the finely produced books published at the 'Journal de St Pétersbourg' Printing House provide a striking example.

Translated from Russian.

<sup>16</sup> D. Chaushanskii, 'Belinskii i russkaia illiustratsiia 1840-kh godov', in V. G. Belinskii, *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, 57 (Moscow, 1951), p. 330.

# Count Semen Vorontsov's Library of Russian Books in London

A. G. Cross

In a recent article devoted to John Maddison (1742–1808), a Russian expert in the Secret Office of the Post Office and a great bibliophile, I described the collection of Russian books that he had gathered predominantly but not exclusively during the two years he spent in St Petersburg up to 1764.<sup>1</sup> It has proved impossible, however, to trace any of the Russian books Maddison owned, and the sale catalogue issued in 1809 shortly after his death is the only evidence we now have of his extensive and important library. Maddison was one of the very few Britons in the eighteenth century who showed any interest in Russian books; the Rev. William Tooke (1744–1820), a small number of whose Russian books are in Cambridge, was another; and William Marsden (1754–1836), nineteen of whose Russian and Slavonic books are in the collection of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, was a third.<sup>2</sup>

The book trade between Britain and Russia was essentially one-way, although Hermann Klostermann was virtually unique among foreign book-sellers in St Petersburg and Moscow in advertising English books in his catalogues.<sup>3</sup> A fascinating glimpse of the range of English books for which there was judged to be a market in Russia is provided by *A Catalogue of a Large and Valuable Collection of Books, Intended for the Russia Trade, but Withheld in Consequence of a Late Failure* (London, 1793). Over 500 titles of works which had appeared in the late 1780s up to 1792 are listed in 427 lots; they include multi-volume sets of Shakespeare, Swift, Fielding, Gibbon, and Johnson's English Poets, dictionaries, journals, manuals, travels, as well as recent fictional delights in great quantities.<sup>4</sup> Sadly, these copies never found their way to Russia, but one might conjecture that earlier and similar consignments did. Books from Russia, on the other hand, were never imported into Britain regularly or in quantity. There was some exchange of publications between learned societies, but, atlases and illustrated works

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Cross, 'John Maddison—Breaker of Russian Codes and Collector of Russian Books', *Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia Newsletter* 15 (1987), pp. 25–30.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. O. Screen and C. L. Drage, 'Church Slavonic and Russian Books, 1552–1800, in the Library of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies', *Slavonic and East European Review* 57, no. 3 (1979), pp. 321–47.

<sup>3</sup> *Svodnyi katalog knig na inostrannykh iazykakh, izdannykh v Rossii v XVIII veke* 3 (Leningrad, 1986), p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> The books were sold at auction by Mr T. King at the Rainbow Coffee House in Cornhill on 16–18 October 1793. I am grateful to Mr J. S. G. Simmons for bringing the catalogue to my attention.



apart, it was only transactions in Latin rather than in Russian which could make any real impact. Individuals rather than institutions were the most likely possessors of Russian books in eighteenth-century Britain—and not only Britons, like Maddison, Tooke or Jeremy Bentham, returning with them from visits to Russia, but also Russians studying and working mainly in or around London.

Among the thousand or so eighteenth-century Russian and Church Slavonic books in British libraries there are inevitably a few which reveal by their ownership inscriptions, bookplates or dedications the names of Russians who had been in Britain. Cambridge, for instance, has at least two such books. The first is a copy of *Domashnie razgovory* (Spb., 1756), which bears the ownership inscription of Prokhor Ignat'evich Suvorov (1750–1815) and the date July 1774.<sup>5</sup> Suvorov was at that time studying in Oxford, where he was to receive his M.A. in June 1775. The second work is a two-volume French and Russian dictionary, published in St Petersburg in 1786, which Count Viktor Pavlovich Kochubei (1768–1834), who was attached to the Russian Embassy in London, presented, shortly before his return to Russia in July 1792, to Misha Vorontsov, the ambassador's young son.<sup>6</sup> In Glasgow University Library there is a copy of Magnitskii's famous *Arifmetika* (Moscow, 1703), part of the Hunterian collection and acquired by William Hunter at the sale in 1775 of the library of its former owner, Dr Anthony Askew (1722–72). According to an inscription on the fly-leaf Askew himself received the book as a gift from the antiquary Thomas Astle (1735–1803) on 26 May 1770, but of more immediate interest are two inscriptions in Russian of earlier date. The first, on the same page as the Astle–Askew inscription, reads 'Siia kniga podarena Tikhonu Poroshinu v 1756 iiunia 29 chisla v gorode Londone', while on the following page is written 'Siia kniga Petra Dementeva s[y]na [?reshchi]'.<sup>7</sup> Tikhon Egorovich Poroshin is an obscure figure, whose presence in London over many years is attested solely by entries in the register of the Russian Embassy church: in November 1741 he married a certain Akulina Petrova and they attended the church fairly regularly until 1761.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult both to decipher fully the second inscription and to relate it to the first. It may

<sup>5</sup> E. P. Tyrrell and J. S. G. Simmons, 'Slavonic Books of the Eighteenth Century in Cambridge Libraries', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1966), pp. 225–45 (p. 229, no. 83).

<sup>6</sup> Tyrrell and Simmons (note 5), p. 233, no. 158.

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to Mr Paul Fletcher of Glasgow University Library for informing me long ago of the inscriptions on Magnitskii's *Arifmetika* and for sending me, more recently, a xerox of the pages in question (letters of 31 March 1977 and 5 July 1988). Cambridge University Library also has a copy of *Arifmetika*, which was presented by the University Registrary, Henry Hubbard (1708–78), in 1749 (Tyrrell and Simmons (note 5), p. 228, no. 69). It has the ownership inscription of I. L. Kormilitsin, whom I am inclined to identify as Ivan Kormilitsyn, who arrived in England in 1706 with the first group of Peter I's 'navigators'.

<sup>8</sup> Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, GB8/111, ff. 77, 92, 97.



well be that Petr Dement'ev, an Old Believer Moscow merchant who had apparently absconded to London where he set up as a watchmaker, himself presented the book to Poroshin (possibly, also a merchant). If he did, the gesture was well timed, for Dement'ev died a few months later, in December 1756.<sup>9</sup> Dement'ev, however, has other claims on our attention. In that same 1756 he sent to the Senate in St Petersburg a denunciation against the Moscow merchant Vasilii Karzhavin (1715–86), father of the talented Fedor (1745–1812), for political and religious freethinking. The reasons for this action are unclear, for Dement'ev and the Karzhavins had met in London some years before and had seemingly been on good terms. A letter Dement'ev sent to Karzhavin at that time (3 October 1753) contains a paragraph of particular interest, revealing Dement'ev's literary interests and book-collecting inclinations:

I am only unhappy that you have not kept your promise to send me a list of books currently offered for sale by the Academy. I beg you henceforth, whenever possible ... don't neglect me, let me know: the works of Mikhail Lomonosov, his Grammar, Oratory, Poetry and Supplement to the Rhetoric, Grigorii Teplov's Logic, the Lexicon in Latin, French, German and Russian—at what price are they being sold? And please let me know what new editions and translations have been printed.<sup>10</sup>

A final example of ownership inscriptions might be taken from a book now in the Library of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. The copy of Stefan Iavorskii's *Kamen' very* (Moscow, 1728) bears three different kinds of inscription: the first marks the gift of the book by Ioann Stefanov, a priest at Moscow's Archangel Cathedral, to his brother Stefan in Kiev; the second, in English, records the death of the Rev. Bartholomew Cassano at Brompton on 23 June 1746; whilst the third is simply the signature of Iakov Smirnov.<sup>11</sup> Cassano (b. 1697 of mixed French and Greek parentage) had served at the Russian Embassy church in London since its foundation in 1716, although he was in sole charge only from 1737. Iavorskii's book arrived in England either in 1739 as part of a consignment sent by the Holy Synod in response to a request for books in Church Slavonic and Russian, or earlier, in 1731, when Gennadii, the first priest and Cassano's uncle, returned from a visit to

<sup>9</sup> P.R.O. (note 8), f. 63.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Iu. Ia. Kogan, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi ateisticheskoi mysli XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1962), p. 107. The works of Lomonosov apart, Dement'ev is referring to Teplov's *Znaniia kasaiushchiesia voobshche do filosofii* (1751), but seemingly anticipating the publication of *Novoi leksikon na frantsusskom, nemetskom, latinskoi i na rossiiskom iazykakh*, translated by S. Volchkov (1755–64).

<sup>11</sup> Screen and Drage (note 2), p. 328, no. 17. For a photograph of the inscriptions, see A. G. Cross, *Anglo-Russian Relations in the Eighteenth Century* (Norwich, 1977), p. 19.



Moscow. Iakov Smirnov (1754–1840) was priest in the Embassy church for sixty years, from 1780 until his death.<sup>12</sup>

Smirnov was the temporary possessor or custodian of a book which belonged to the Russian Church in London. In 1842, some two years after Smirnov's death, his successor, the Rev. Evgenii Popov, made a listing of the books in the church library: sixty-seven items were included in the Church Slavonic and Russian section (in which *Kamen' very* appeared as no. 16) and thirty works in the Greek section.<sup>13</sup> In 1959 the library was deposited with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies on indefinite loan, and forty-six items in Church Slavonic and Russian, dating from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth, were subsequently described in detail by J. E. O. Screen and C. L. Drage. What is surprising, however, is not that the books 'are, understandably, mostly of a religious character',<sup>14</sup> but that there are some which are not. The particular items are: two copies of the second edition (1737) of Aleksei Mikhailovich's *Ulozhenie* (of which there is also a first edition of 1649), which are bound with copies of Peter I's *Glavnyi reglament* (third edition, 1735); the first volume of Lomonosov's *Sobranie raznykh sochinenii v stikhakh i proze* (Moscow, 1757); the first and only volume of Fedor Tumanskii's *Polnoe opisanie deianii ... Petra Velikogo* (Spb., 1788); and Ivan Khemnitser's *Basni i skazki* (Moscow, 1799). These works would seem less out of place in another contemporary library; indeed, the likelihood is that they came from it. The library in question was the personal collection of Count Semen Romanovich Vorontsov (1744–1832), Russian ambassador at the Court of St James's from 1785 to 1806.

Perhaps the most vivid and perceptive characterization of Vorontsov came from Nikolai Karamzin, the 'Russian Traveller', who met the ambassador in London in the summer of 1790 and found him 'an intelligent, worthy and hospitable man, who lives completely in the English style, loves the English and is loved by them. [...] The Count's manner is pleasant and attentive without any excessive familiarity. He is a true patriot; he has a good knowledge of Russian history and literature and he recited for me from memory the best passages from Lomonosov's odes.'<sup>15</sup> Karamzin catches well that blend of patriotism and Anglophilism, which was encapsulated in Vorontsov's oft-repeated view that 'tout bon Anglais doit être bon Russe et tout bon Russe doit être un bon Anglais', concealing a deep antipathy to

<sup>12</sup> See A. G. Cross, 'By the Banks of the Thames': *Russians in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Newtonville, Mass., 1980), pp. 35–6, 44–52.

<sup>13</sup> P.R.O. (note 8), ff. 241–5. Two of the items in the Russian list are in fact in English: *The Holy Bible, containing the Old Testament and the New* (Cambridge, 1763), and John Glen King, *Rites and ceremonies of the Greek Church, in Russia* (London, 1772). A similar list also appears in RG8/112, ff. 13–16 (Church Slavonic and Russian) and 25–6 (Greek).

<sup>14</sup> Screen and Drage (note 2), p. 322.

<sup>15</sup> N. M. Karamzin, *Izbrannye sochineniia v dvukh tomakh* 1 (Moscow, 1964), p. 530.



France, particularly Revolutionary France, yet expressed revealingly in French.<sup>16</sup> Although Vorontsov returned only once to Russia—and then, only briefly, in 1802—during the forty-eight years he spent in England, he remained to the end deeply interested in all aspects of its political and cultural life. Welcoming improvements and developments in the sciences, in manufacturing and commerce, committed to changes which would make laws clear and immutable, he nevertheless believed that change generally brought not improvement but deterioration, and that this was particularly so in matters of religion—and of language. The activities of the Bible Society during the reign of Alexander I moved him to the following remarkable defence of Church Slavonic:

Je crois aussi que la chose principale dans un pays, l'unité de la religion, s'affaiblira de beaucoup en Russie quand tout le monde lira et interprètera la Bible. Une autre chose qui me fait de la peine, c'est qu'on imprime les psaumes de David et plusieurs livres d'église en langue russe, comme si on voulait bannir de notre langue tous les mots et les tournures de la langue slave, qui fait toute la beauté, la richesse, la majesté de notre langue, qui devient pauvre, vulgaire et dont la tournure dans l'arrangement des phrases et dans la contraction des périodes devient prolix. C'est la langue slave qui a inspiré le génie du grand Lomonossoff, ce créateur non-seulement de notre langue poétique, mais le vrai guide pour que cette belle langue ne se perde pas; il a fait une dissertation sur l'utilité de la lecture de nos livres d'église, parce qu'ils sont écrits en langue slave.<sup>17</sup>

Vorontsov's religious and linguistic conservatism align him with Shishkov and the *starovery* of the 'Beseda' or Society of the Lovers of the Russian Word, but for all that, in most other things he was a Westerniser rather than a Slavophile. He did not look back with nostalgia to a pre-Petrine Russia, for his family's rise from obscurity to eminence came only in the wake of the Petrine reforms. Semen Vorontsov, his brother Aleksandr and his sister Ekaterina (Dashkova) represent the cultured and urbane second generation, light years away from the first generation of their father, Roman 'bol'shoi karman'.<sup>18</sup> Vorontsov's career and professional interests as first soldier, then diplomat, his love of history, exploration and practical knowledge, and his distinctive literary tastes, are all inevitably and strongly reflected in the library which he gathered in London.

Among the records of the Russian Church in London which are in the Public Record Office is a book, 20cm × 30cm, which has on its cover 'Catalogue de livres russes'.<sup>19</sup> On the inside of the front cover is a bookplate

<sup>16</sup> *Arkhiiv kniazia Vorontsova* 17 (Moscow, 1880), p. 118.

<sup>17</sup> *AKV* (note 16), p. 548.

<sup>18</sup> See the recent characterization of Vorontsov in Iu. M. Lotman, *Sotvorenie Karamzina* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 179–86.

<sup>19</sup> P.R.O. (note 8), GB/114.



with a coat of arms, the motto 'Semper immota fides', and the name 'Le Comte Woronzow'. The volume is foliated 1-173, but only ff. 1-2, 17-25, 53-61, 127, 168 and 170 have been used. On ff. 168 and 170 is a 'Tserkovnyi katalog bogosluzhebnykh slavianskikh knig', listing forty-eight works published between 1646 (item no. 3 in the Screen/Drage catalogue) and 1861. On f. 25 in the same hand but this time in pencil is a list of eight titles of secular works, dating from the late 1840s up to 1866. It is thus the entries on ff. 1-2, 17-24, 53-61 and 127 which seem to constitute the Vorontsov library.

It is difficult to give with any certainty the precise year when the basic catalogue was compiled, but it would seem most probably to be 1796. The latest book in the basic or initial catalogue dates from 1794, although there are two calendars for 1796, issued in 1795. There are, however, books and journals up to 1807, entered by different hands on at least two further occasions: the new entries represent not only later acquisitions but also earlier works which had apparently been overlooked. An inventory seems to have been made towards the end of Paul's reign, possibly in 1800, when Vorontsov was made to relinquish his post of ambassador following the rupture in Anglo-Russian relations, and possibly a second in 1807, shortly after Vorontsov's retirement. In addition, the catalogue bears a few comments in French, indicating for example that a certain work was 'chez Madame le Comtesse' or another was 'dépareillé'.<sup>20</sup>

The library is catalogued according to book size: (1) folio, (2) quarto, and (3) octavo and duodecimo. The folio volumes are arranged in random sequence, but volumes in the other two categories are subdivided by subject, viz. 'Istoricheskie', 'Zakony i ukazy', 'O trgovle', 'Geograficheskie knigi i puteshestviia', 'Voinskie ustavy' and 'Raznye sochineniia i perevody' for the quarto volumes, and the same for the octavo and duodecimo, minus the sections on commerce and military regulations but plus an interesting section called 'Knigi izdannye po poveleniiu Imperatritsy Ekateriny II'. There is a final listing (f. 127) of various types of 'Mesiateslovy' or calendars. The order of books within the sections is again neither alphabetical nor chronological.

A hundred and forty-eight entries were made in the original handwriting and there were twenty-nine later additions (three of which, however, repeated existing entries), representing an overall total of 174 different titles (about 500 volumes in all, counting duplicates and parts of journals and calendars). The additions bring confusion to the initial numbering (which is 1-? within each size category and unaffected by the subject divisions), sometimes repeating an already used number or using no number at all. Not only is there no chronological or alphabetical order to the entries but there is also no

<sup>20</sup> Vorontsov was a widower. The 'comtesse' in question would seem to be his daughter Ekaterina, who married George, 11th Earl of Pembroke, in 1808.



consistency in the way books are described. Titles are frequently distorted or abbreviated and dates of publication and, most often, names of authors or editors are omitted. Nevertheless, the author, title and chronological indexes of *Svodnyi katalog russkoi knigi XVIII veka* 5 (1967) make identification possible in the majority of cases. A fairly clear picture emerges of the strengths and emphases of the Vorontsov collection, suggested, but no more than that, by the subject divisions. As befits the Russian library of a French-speaking Russian aristocrat living abroad there are relatively few translations (the majority from German), and the concentration is on works about Russia and, above all, about its history, geography, laws and ordinances.

'Official publications' are represented far more widely than in the sections entitled 'Zakony i ukazy' or 'Voinskie ustavy'—they include copies of the *Ulozhenie* of Aleksei Mikhailovich, *Sudebnik* of Ivan Vasil'evich and *Nakaz* of Catherine II in the four-language edition of 1770, *ukazy* of rulers from Peter to Catherine II, the provincial statute of 1775 (1780 edition) and the police statute of 1782, the commercial tariffs and treaties, military regulations for the cavalry and infantry, and the navy, court, civil and military calendars. No less official were the works entered under the heading 'Knigi izdannye po poveleniiu Imperatritsy Ekateriny II'. The thirteen titles are representative of the publishing activities of the Commission for the Establishment of Public Schools, founded by Catherine in 1782, and include the Empress's own *Rossiiskaia azbuka* of the previous year, which was originally intended for the use of her grandsons Alexander and Constantine but very much set the tone for the Commission's publications. Vorontsov had copies of both short and long catechisms and of textbooks on arithmetic, geography, physics, mechanics, and church history and orthography, as well as of the three important publications of 1783: *Rukovodstvo uchiteliam*, *Pravila dlia uchashchikhsia* and *O dolzhnostiakh cheloveka i grazhdanina*.<sup>21</sup> Most of these publications are noted as existing in more than one copy, suggesting that when the opportunity arose, Vorontsov distributed them to Russian students in England. Overall, more than fifty titles, or one third of the total Vorontsov Russian library, might be classified as 'official'.

As statistically significant (forty-two titles) but much more homogeneous and impressive are the works on history. Vorontsov seems to have collected fairly systematically the major works on Russian history from its earliest times as well as relevant works on such as the Tartars and the Poles (e.g. Abu El Ghazi's *Rodoslovnaia istoriia o tatarakh* (1768) and F. A. Schmid's *Pol'skii letopisets* (1782)). He possessed the major histories of Russia by Tatishchev and Prince Shcherbatov as well as the popularizing efforts of Catherine

<sup>21</sup> See J. L. Black, *Citizens for the Fatherland: Education, Educators, and Pedagogical Ideals in Eighteenth Century Russia* (Boulder, 1979), pp. 126–36.



(*Zapiski kasatel'no rossiiskoi istorii* (1787)) and Ippolit Bogdanovich (*Istoricheskoe izobrazhenie Rossii* (1771)). Late eighteenth-century first publications of important sources for early Russian history figure prominently. In addition to Novikov's *Drevniaia rossiiskaia vivliofika* (1773–5), Vorontsov possessed the first two parts of its *Prodolzhenie* (1786), produced at the Academy of Sciences, and publishing materials by the director of the Archive of the Moscow College of Foreign Affairs, J. G. Stritter. There is also the four-volume set of Stritter's *Izvestiia vizantiiskikh istorikov obiasniaiushchie rossiiskuiu istoriiu i preseleniia narodov* (1770–5), G. F. Müller's important edition of *Kniga stepennaia* (1775), the first, if highly imperfect, publication of the Königsberg copy of *Povest' vremennykh let* in *Biblioteka rossiiskaia istoricheskaiia* (1767), as well as such editions of the chronicles as *Tsarstvennoi letopisets* (1772), edited by Shcherbatov, *Russkaia letopis' po Nikonovu spisku* (1767–92), *Drevniago letopitsa chast' pervaiia* (1774–5), and *Letopisets russkoi* (1792), edited by Nikolai L'vov. Of more contemporary history it is, not unexpectedly, Peter's reign that is particularly well represented: apart from Peter's own *ukazy*, correspondence and journals, we find Ivan Golikov's vast compilation *Deianiia Petra Velikogo* in its original twelve parts (1788–9) and the first two volumes of *Dopolneniia* (1790), Feofan Prokopovich's *Istoriia Petra Velikogo* (1773), Vasilii Ruban's *Nachertanie ... o dostoslavnom tsarstvovanii Petra Velikogo* (1778), and Tumanskii's *Zhizn'*. There are a number of unusual or unexpected items, not least three works by the 'Archangel citizen' and local historian Vasilii Krestinin (1729–95), his *Istoricheskie nachatki o dvinskom narode* (1784), and *Istoricheskii opyt o sel'skom starinnom domostroitel'stve dvinskogo naroda* (1785), as well as his history of Kholmogory (1790).

Works elsewhere in the catalogue could easily have found a place in the historical section. This is certainly true of Mikhail Chulkov's *Istoricheskoe opisanie rossiiskoi kommertsii* (1781–8); it would apply also to a number of works in the sections devoted to geography and travel, to, for example, Müller's *Opisanie Sibirskogo tsarstva* (1787), G. S. Bayer's *Geografiia rossiiskaia ... okolo 947 godu* (1767), or the descriptions of Moscow and St Petersburg by Ruban (1782) and J. G. Georgi (1794) respectively. Three of these last four works were translations from German but emanating from scholars at the Academy of Sciences. It was participants, both German and Russian, on Academy expeditions throughout the century who produced many of the great accounts of the topography, history and culture of the remoter areas of the Russian Empire. Vorontsov's library includes notable works by Gmelin, Pallas, Lepekhin, Krasheninnikov, P. I. and N. P. Rychkov. One of the last additions to the catalogue was Pavel Sumarokov's *Puteshestvie po vsemu Krymu i Bessarabii* (1800), a travelogue of a different order, not uninfluenced by Karamzin's *Pis'ma russkogo puteshestvennika*.



Karamzin's *Pis'ma*, which appeared in their first separate edition in 1797–1801, were not in Vorontsov's collection, but there were the first five (of eight) volumes of Karamzin's *Moskovskii zhurnal* (1791–2), in which the letters began to appear. Karamzin himself may well have sent the copies to Vorontsov, who would have been not uninterested in what his recent guest might be describing. Vorontsov probably also received presentation copies of works written by other Russians who had been in England: his library had a copy of the long descriptive poem *Aleksandrova* (1793), written by Stepan Dzhunkovskii, who was in England from 1784 to 1792, and copies of the famous mechanic Lev Sabakin's *Pribavlenie k Fergusovym lektsiiam* (1788) and *Maloe zdanie, ili razgovory, kasaiushchiesia do astronomii, fiziki i mekhaniki* (1789).<sup>22</sup> These works all appeared in the section entitled 'Raznye sochineniia i perevody', which was a catch-all, containing dictionaries of various sorts, translations of such works as John Locke's *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, P. J. Macquer's *Elémens de chymie* and William Forsyth's *Observations on the Diseases, Defects, and Injuries in All Kinds of Fruit and Forest Trees*, a prayer-book, psalter and the collected works of Archbishop Platon, Chulkov's mythological dictionary and Bogdanovich's collection of Russian proverbs, and a very interesting selection of literary works and journals.

The number of literary works is small but Vorontsov's tastes are clearly in evidence. He possessed the complete works of Lomonosov in the six-volume edition of 1784–7 as well as his epic poem *Petr Velikii*. He also had works by Lomonosov's famous contemporaries, Aleksandr Sumarokov and Vasilii Trediakovskii—Sumarokov's collected works in the first Novikov edition of 1781–2 and Trediakovskii's *Tilemakhida* (1766). Early translations of Lesage's *Gil Blas* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and works by Mikhail Popov and Ivan Khemnitser more or less complete Vorontsov's literary holdings, but not quite. The literary accomplishments of the great Catherine are unexpectedly well represented: there is both the sumptuous 1791 folio edition of her *Nachal'noe upravlenie Olega* as well as the more modest and earlier octavo edition of 1787, and three other plays, *Obmanskchik*, *Obol'shchennyi* and *Razstroennaia sem'ia*; all appear in separate editions of 1786–8. A full set of *Ezhemesiachnye sochineniia*, Russia's first monthly journal, issued by the Academy of Sciences and running from 1758 to 1764, leads the list of eight journals, mainly in incomplete runs. This journal, in which there are contributions from Lomonosov, Trediakovskii, Lomonosov, Müller and Rychkov, is of the basically serious nature apparent in others such as

<sup>22</sup> See A. G. Cross, 'Dzhunkovskii's *Aleksandrova*: Putting Samborskii in the Picture', *Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia Newsletter* 3 (1975), pp. 22–9; Cross (note 12), pp. 79–80, 194–8.



*Akademicheskie izvestiia* (1779–81), *Sobranie raznykh sochinenii i novostei* (1775–6), *Ekonomicheskii magazin* (1780–2) and *Novye ezhe mesiachnye sochineniia* (1786–7). There are, incidentally, no examples of the satirical journals or of later literary periodicals, except for *Moskovskii zhurnal*.

Vorontsov was away from Russia from 1782, when he took up his first diplomatic post in Italy, until his death. Although many of the books in his library were published before 1782 and may have been gathered over the years before his departure from Russia, a larger number was collected while he was abroad and in London in particular. There were various ways he could have acquired his books, but his most reliable source was undoubtedly his elder brother Aleksandr (1741–1805), himself a former ambassador in London and later president of the Commerce College. Aleksandr was the possessor of a great library of books in many languages; Semen regularly sent him books in French and English and just as regularly requested Russian books, sometimes by title or author but frequently leaving the choice to his brother. On 12/23 June 1786 he wrote: 'J'espère que vous m'enverrez du moins par mer la description de la Crimée. Je vous prie de m'envoyer [...] quelques livres russes, s'il y en a d'intéressants de parus depuis ma sortie.'<sup>23</sup> He was referring to K. I. Gablits's *Fizicheskoe opisanie Tavricheskoi oblasti* (1785), which he duly received and found disappointing. Two months later, on 20/31 August, he asked: 'Faites-moi l'amitié de m'envoyer la continuation de l'Histoire du prince Shcherbatov, dont je n'ai que trois tomes, et la continuation de l'histoire de notre commerce par Chulkov, dont je n'ai qu'un tome.'<sup>24</sup> Both works eventually appeared as full sets in the Vorontsov catalogue. In December he was making what might seem an unlikely request for as many different almanacs in Russian and French as possible—'c'est ma rage'.<sup>25</sup> His catalogue registers nine types of almanacs (eight in Russian and one in French) and a total of forty-eight copies, dated 1782 to 1796 (and one late entry for 1798). In the same letter he begged his brother 'de m'envoyer tout ce qui a paru de bon en fait de livres russes et ne pas oublier la nouvelle édition de Lomonosoff'. On 14/25 December 1789 he described at length his reaction to Ivan Golikov's *Deianiia Petra Velikogo*: 'Malgré le style ridicule du compilateur des faits de Pierre le Grand, j'ai dévoré pour ainsi dire ces neuf volumes et je voudrais qu'ils fussent 900: tant la matière est intéressante. On doit être reconnaissant à m-r Golikov de nous avoir fait connaître ce souverain si sublime.'<sup>26</sup> After extensive remarks on Peter's character and achievements, Vorontsov concludes: 'Pour vous dire en un mot, je suis fol de ce livre si mal écrit, et je suis devenu admirateur de Pierre, que je ne connais que grâce à ce

<sup>23</sup> *AKV* (note 16), 9 (1876), p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> *AKV* 9, p. 109.

<sup>25</sup> *AKV* 9, p. 113.

<sup>26</sup> *AKV* 9, p. 158.



Golikov. Pour l'amour de Dieu envoyez moi tout ce qu'on peut trouver chez nous sur cet homme prodigieux.'<sup>27</sup> We have already had occasion to survey Vorontsov's holdings on Peter, which would seem to have been largely the result of his brother's successful searches. Aleksandr, incidentally, was a benefactor of Golikov and received numerous letters from him about his work on Peter;<sup>28</sup> he also knew Krestinin, which probably accounts for the copies of his books that made their way to London.<sup>29</sup>

The question inevitably arises as to where precisely in London they went. On his arrival in London in 1785 Vorontsov moved into 36 Harley Street, the house recently bought by the Russian government as a permanent home for its representative. In a letter to his brother in April 1792 he complained of the inadequate and cramped quarters in which he and his two children and his secretary and the servants had lived for the past six years, and he described how he was obliged to use his small bedroom as a study.<sup>30</sup> He was nevertheless to remain in Harley Street until his retirement and one would suppose that he kept there his ever growing library (of which, of course, books in Russian were only a part). The only other possible location was the premises occupied by the Russian church. The church itself was originally housed in York Buildings on the Strand, moved to Burlington Gardens on Clifford Street in 1757, and in 1786 found at last a respectable building on Great Portland Street in Marylebone, a few streets away from Vorontsov's house.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps Vorontsov took the opportunity to accommodate some of his books there, or perhaps his library was transferred there as a whole on his retirement in 1806, when he left London for Southampton. He was later to buy a house in London on Mansfield Street, which was renamed Woronzow Road after his death. He also undoubtedly continued to acquire books, but none of these later acquisitions appears in the catalogue of his library. At all events, his library seems at some stage to have merged with, or to have been placed near, the library of the church. This might account for the presence of the secular books (most, incidentally, later entries in the catalogue) among the church books which eventually found their way to the Library of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies. But, of course, the further question arises concerning the ultimate fate of Vorontsov's library. If the church library as such continued intact after the church's further move in 1813 to

<sup>27</sup> *AKV* 9, p. 160.

<sup>28</sup> *AKV* 24 (1880), pp. 225–38.

<sup>29</sup> *AKV* 5 (1872), p. 229.

<sup>30</sup> *AKV* 9, pp. 233–4.

<sup>31</sup> See Cross (note 12), pp. 36–7.



Welbeck Street, when was the Vorontsov collection dispersed or sold? Was it after Vorontsov's death in 1832 or at some later date? <sup>32</sup>

In the course of checking some of the more cryptic entries in the catalogue against Charles Drage's *Russian and Church Slavonic Books 1701–1800 in United Kingdom Libraries*, I became aware how many of the Vorontsov titles were in the British Library and uniquely so among British collections. Indeed, it was the presence in the British Library of such unusual works as two of the three Krestinin publications and Petr Irodionov's *Istoricheskie, geograficheskie i politicheskie izvestiia do goroda Toroptsia i ego okruga kasaiushchiesia* (1778) and Timofei Mal'gin's *Chinovnik rossiiskikh gosudarei* (1792) and *Zertsalo rossiiskikh gosudarei* (1794) that persuaded me to make as full a collation as possible. At least seventy-seven items, or nearly fifty per cent, in the Vorontsov catalogue are also found in the British Library.<sup>33</sup> This total in turn represents a high proportion of the British Library holdings, for which Drage gives 546 items, particularly when it is realized that this latter total includes a large number of religious works in Church Slavonic.<sup>34</sup> Sadly, however, the hopes of discovering the Vorontsov collection, or a substantial part of it, in the British Library have not been justified. No books with a Vorontsov bookplate or ownership inscription have been found, while there is firm evidence that some of the books in question in the British Library were acquired from sources which had no possible connection with the Vorontsov collection. On the other hand, a considerable number of eighteenth-century Russian books were bought in 1847 from Adolf Asher & Co., who had offices in both Berlin and London, but no invoices or other documents survive to establish a Vorontsov link.<sup>35</sup>

### Postscript

This article had already been submitted to the printer when I chanced upon the possible answer as to the whereabouts of the Russian books in the Vorontsov collection. In the course of an article entitled 'Frantsuzskaia "Rossika" epokhi Prosveshcheniia i russkii chitatel', V. A. Somov turns his attention to published and manuscript catalogues of private and institutional

<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to know how to interpret the list of eight additional titles on f. 25 of the catalogue. They date from 1847 to 1866 and include the Smirdin editions of the complete works of Karamzin and Lomonosov. Possibly the collection was still intact, but why are no books published between 1808 and 1846 entered?

<sup>33</sup> This is discounting eleven unidentified items, two nineteenth-century items and seven journals—the British Library lost virtually all its eighteenth-century Russian journals from bombing during the Second World War.

<sup>34</sup> C. L. Drage, *Russian and Church Slavonic Books 1701–1800 in United Kingdom Libraries* (London, 1984), p. viii. There were four religious books in Church Slavonic in the Vorontsov catalogue.

<sup>35</sup> I am sincerely grateful to Dr Christine Thomas for investigating the circumstances in which the British Library acquired its eighteenth-century books.



collections. In the huge Vorontsov family archives held in the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad he discovered four manuscript catalogues, dating from 1766, 179?, 1809 and 1834. The first two were catalogues of the collection of Aleksandr Vorontsov, whilst the third 'probably' recorded the books of his brother Semen.<sup>36</sup> The majority of the books recorded in the 1809 catalogue also appeared in the 1834 catalogue of Semen's son Mikhail's library in Odessa. Somov is only discussing books in French and therefore does not indicate whether the catalogues in question record books in Russian. However, it seems that Mikhail Vorontsov took at least his father's collection of books in French and other non-Russian languages back to Russia, possibly in 1832, the year of Semen's death; he may well have taken the Russian books as well.

<sup>36</sup> V. A. Somov, 'Frantsuzskaia "Rossika" epokhi Prosveshcheniia', in S. P. Luppov (ed.), *Frantsuzskaia kniga v Rossii v XVIII v.* (Leningrad, 1986), p. 190.



# The Petrine 'Civil Primer' Reconsidered: A New Look at the Publishing History of the 'Grazhdanskaia Azbuka', 1708–1727

Gary Marker

This essay represents a specific and rather narrowly conceived effort to re-examine the documentary record in order to clarify, and at times revise, the publishing history of the civil abecedarium. In large measure the method employed will be a straightforward review of previously printed documents, but some unpublished documents from the chancellery of the Holy Synod also have an important bearing on the subject.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, such a reconsideration leads at times back to the conditional mood of earlier research rather than toward a new finality on the subject. Nevertheless, in most cases a review of the documents would seem to call into question many widely held ideas concerning the publication and impact of the texts.

## I

When Peter the Great introduced his revised alphabet, the so-called civil type (*grazhdanskii shrift*) in 1707, he intended to create a simpler and more elegant medium for the production of secular books of particular concern to the state. Scholars disagree on whether the model for his revised letters was the Latin alphabet, simply superimposed from above, or—as A. G. Shitsgal would have it—the late Muscovite chancery hand (*delovoe pis'mo*).<sup>2</sup> But irrespective of whether the revised alphabet had organic links with the way governmental scribes and officials wrote, very few of Peter's literate subjects seem to have adopted it as a standard form of writing, a point that even Shitsgal acknowledges.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv, Leningrad (TsGIA), fond 796, The Records of the Synod Chancellery, opis' 58, no. 43: 'Vedomost' kakogo zvaniia knigi v Moskovskoi tipografii s nachala uchrezhdeniia eia do nyne i po skol'ku ekzempiarov o tom pokazano nizhe sego' (1777), pp. 15–24.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the literature remains convinced that Latin was the most immediate model, but Shitsgal has made a career of insisting upon a close affinity between the handwriting of *prikaz* scribes at the end of the seventeenth century and the forms of the new letters. See A. G. Shitsgal, *Russkii tipografskii shrift* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 33–48; Shitsgal, 'O rukopisnykh traditsiiakh pervoistochnika sovremennogo russkogo tipografskogo shrifta', in A. A. Sidorov (ed.), *Rukopisnaia i pechatnaia kniga* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 68–79. See also P. N. Berkov, 'O perekhode skoropisi XVII v. v sovremennoe pis'mo', in *Trudy Instituta istorii Akademii nauk SSSR, Leningradskoe otdelenie*, vol. 7 (Moscow, 1964), pp. 36–50; P. P. Pekarskii, *Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom II* (St Petersburg, 1862), p. 644; and I. Snegirev, 'Dva materiala dlia istorii grazhdanskago knigopechataniia v Rossii', *Biblioteka dlia chteniia*, 1838, no. 6, pp. 41–5.

<sup>3</sup> Shitsgal, 'O rukopisnykh traditsiiakh' (note 2), pp. 72–3.



Printed books, however, reflected the alphabetic reform almost immediately, for Peter ordered that certain categories of publications should appear in the civil type as early as 1708. The typefaces for these books looked substantially different from those used in all previous Russian printed books, a phenomenon that is apparent to anyone who has looked at old- and new-style books side by side. Henceforth a literate person, in order to be of use to the state, was obliged to be able to read Russian books in two quite distinct printed orthographies.

If Shitsgal is correct, this adjustment would have been of little moment to educated serving men, ecclesiastical authorities, or the *d'iaki* of the upper administration. These, after all, were fully literate people who could read and write, and who came into constant contact with the streamlined chancery hand of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. But the vast majority of Russians who had gained exposure to literacy did not fall into any of these categories. More importantly, they probably could not write and they had no experience with business or governmental records. For these people, raised on a pedagogy (the 'primer method') that emphasized memorization and visual recognition of specific passages from religious texts (primers, breviaries and psalters) rather than reading for understanding, the civil alphabet would have been quite unfamiliar, and it is unlikely that the very elementary, ritualistic and non-cognitive pedagogy to which they were exposed would have equipped them to make sense of publications that were printed in the new letters.<sup>4</sup>

Peter seems to have recognized that, at least in the short run, far more people could understand the old style of print than the new. As a consequence, he permitted large numbers of texts that were secular in content, such as edicts, *Vedomosti*, various public announcements, and even some textbooks, to continue to be published in the old style or in simultaneous old and new style editions.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Peter expected literate people to learn the new style of print quickly, and from their very debut in 1708 the civil printing houses were kept very active, to the point where, by 1720, they were outstripping the religious presses at least in terms of the number of titles produced per year.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> On the Muscovite primer system see D. Izvekov, 'Bukvar'naia sistema obucheniia v iskhode XVII i nachale XVIII st.', *Sem'ia i shkola* 4 (1872), pp. 732–50; and A. I. Iatsimirskii, 'Obrazovannost' v ovskoi Rusi', in M. V. Dovnar-Zapol'skii (ed.), *Russkaia istoriia v ocherkakh i stat'iakh*, vol. 3 (Kiev, 1912), p. 517.

<sup>5</sup> The crossover between contents and typefaces during Peter's reign has been commented upon in a variety of sources. For a full-length treatment of the subject see T. A. Afanas'eva, 'Svetskaia kirillicheskaia kniga v Rossii v XVIII veke (problemy izdaniia, repertuara, rasprostraneniia, chteniia)' (candidate's dissertation completed at the Krupskaia Institute of Culture, Leningrad, 1983).

<sup>6</sup> For the relevant publishing figures from the Petrine period see Gary Marker, *Publishing, Printing, and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700–1800* (Princeton, 1985), pp. 21–5.



Given the prevailing pedagogy, for Peter to achieve his ambitious goal was to prove to be no easy matter. Whether measured against contemporary alternatives, or by the standards of modern methods, Muscovy had employed a particularly cumbersome variant of the primer method that placed all of its emphasis on correct recitation at the expense of comprehension. Such a pedagogy was not meant to equip children to read unfamiliar texts; indeed, the circulating teaching tracts came close to associating any form of undirected and non-recitative reading with sin.<sup>7</sup> Ultimately, therefore, students rarely proceeded beyond the primer, and the primers that actually circulated were not the elaborate and engaging *bukvari* that had been composed by clerical intellectuals, but rather the spare and primitive *azbuka uchebnaia* which offered virtually no opportunities to study or practice reading.<sup>8</sup>

Redirecting that process, or at least modifying it so that children learned to recognize, and to comprehend, the civil type and civil texts (or possibly both styles of print simultaneously), would have required a fundamental revision of this pedagogy. Such a revision did not take place during Peter's time; indeed no significant modification of the Muscovite primer system occurred in any large scale until the middle of the reign of Catherine the Great. Instead, Peter opted for a much simpler instrument to teach his new script, the so-called civil primer, or abecedarium (*grazhdanskaia azbuka*), that, in some instances, was meant to be used in tandem with the compendium of translated moral lessons and rules of etiquette for boys and girls of the gentry, the oft-cited *Mirror of Honour for Youth* (*Iunosti chestnoe zertsalo*).<sup>9</sup>

## II

We are fortunate in having a few surviving copies of Petrine civil abecedaria either as separate editions or as appendices to other texts, as well as a considerable amount of relevant, and mostly published, documentation. From these sources there has evolved a more or less standard publishing and

<sup>7</sup> See the proscriptions of non-directed and non-recitative reading in the seventeenth-century teaching tract *Nakazanie ko uchitelem kako im uchiti detei gramote i detem uchitsia bozhestvennomu pisaniiu i razumeniiu*, which circulated widely in both printed and manuscript form.

<sup>8</sup> For a fuller discussion of the difference between the intellectually impressive, but essentially non-circulating, *bukvari* and the primitive, but widespread, *azbuki* see my article 'Primers and Literacy in Muscovy: A Taxonomic Investigation', *Russian Review* (forthcoming).

<sup>9</sup> For a brief discussion of the contents of the *Iunosti* and its sources see Max Okenfuss, *The Discovery of Childhood in Russia: The Evidence of the Slavic Primer* (Newtonville, Mass., 1980), pp. 45–8. Okenfuss also comes to the conclusion that the primer system remained pre-eminent during Peter's reign, but his understanding of the texts and pedagogy that the system employed is rather different from that expressed in this essay.



pedagogical history of the text.<sup>10</sup> Relying largely on the compilations and judicious reasoning of T. A. Bykova and M. M. Gurevich, whose three-volume catalogue of Petrine imprints remains as the standard source on Petrine bibliography, the accepted publishing history runs as follows.<sup>11</sup> The first civil abecedarium, composed at Peter's behest by M. P. Gagarin, appeared in Moscow in February 1709, possibly in a run as large as twelve *zavody*, or 14,400 copies.<sup>12</sup> This, however, was not a complete scholastic abecedarium but merely an abbreviated listing of new and old letters ('Izobrazhenie drevnikh i novykh pismen slavenskikh pechatnykh i rukopisnykh') and two-letter syllables ('slozi dvopismennii, ot soglasnykh nachinaemii'). The first scholastic abecedarium, according to Bykova and Gurevich, was an untitled 1710 Moscow imprint which is identified in most catalogues as 'Azbuka grazhdanskaia s nravoucheniami' ('Civil abecedarium with moral lessons').<sup>13</sup> This text was apparently compiled by Jakob Bruce (or Brius) and revised by Peter himself, and it is thought to have become the standard Petrine primer.<sup>14</sup> It ran to nineteen pages, but only eleven pages of text, which were divided into seven sections: a listing of both alphabets, printed and written; two-letter syllables; three-letter syllables; a selection of moral teachings from the New Testament; and three separate lists of numbers in both Slavic and arabic forms.

The abecedarium of 1710, it is generally believed, was reprinted several times over the course of Peter's reign.<sup>15</sup> According to Bykova and Gurevich, an initial St Petersburg edition appeared in 1714 in a run of 200 copies and subsequent St Petersburg editions came out in 1715 (688 copies), 1717 (1200 copies) and 1718 (1200 copies).<sup>16</sup> In addition to these printings, the civil abecedarium appeared as an appendix to the *Mirror*. This was a potentially important development because, whereas the new abecedarium alone could neither fit into nor adequately substitute for the old primer system of teaching literacy with prayer books, the two texts together did constitute something of

<sup>10</sup> A facsimile edition of the abecedarium with moral lessons was published in 1877 by the Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti, a fragment of which was recently reissued in A. G. Shitsgal (ed.), *Repertuar russkogo grazhdanskogo shrifta XVIII veka*, 1: *Grazhdanskii shrift pervoi chetverti XVIII veka 1708–1725. Reproduktsii* (Moscow, 1981). This latter publication also included a facsimile of the first civil abecedarium ca. 1708–1709.

<sup>11</sup> The relevant references are in T. A. Bykova and M. M. Gurevich, *Opisanie izdanii grazhdanskoi pechaty 1708–ianvar' 1725 g.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1955), nos. 18a, 32, 137, 176, 226, 237, 261, 336, 753, 879, and pp. 536–8.

<sup>12</sup> Bykova and Gurevich, no. 18a; E. N. Brailovskii, 'Fedor Polikarpovich Polikarpov-Orlov, direktor Moskovskoi tipografii', *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* (1894), p. 254.

<sup>13</sup> Bykova and Gurevich, nos. 18a and 32.

<sup>14</sup> Bykova and Gurevich, pp. 536–8; Okenfuss (note 9), p. 43. Peter's own corrections can be plainly seen in the facsimile editions.

<sup>15</sup> Okenfuss (note 9), p. 45; S. P. Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii v pervoi chetverti XVIII veka* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 96.

<sup>16</sup> Bykova and Gurevich (note 11), nos. 18a, 32, 137, 176, 261, 336; Okenfuss (note 9), p. 45.



a parallel curriculum to teach reading in the new alphabet. It bears noting, therefore, that the *Mirror* was printed four times during the latter years of Peter's reign, three St Petersburg printings (two in 1717 in runs of 600 and 100 copies, and one in 1719 in a run of 1200 copies) and a 1723 Moscow printing whose print run was unknown to Bykova and Gurevich.<sup>17</sup>

Thus between 1709 and 1723 ten separate printings of civil abecedaria are thought to have appeared, with a combined print run of more than twenty thousand. Nine of these, moreover, were scholastic abecedaria with a combined run of at least 5188 copies (not including the 1710 Moscow imprint and the 1723 Moscow *Mirror* for which Bykova and Gurevich could not establish print run figures), and more than 1900 of these included the *Mirror*.

The civil abecedarium has been admired for its spareness, which is seen as exemplifying Petrine principles of efficiency and utilitarianism, teaching what was needed and nothing more.<sup>18</sup> Its introduction of arabic numbers is also considered noteworthy, and the fact that it appeared ten times between 1709 and 1723 is seen as a sign of widespread dissemination and of Peter's determination that the new alphabet should be known and comprehensible to literate people.

In a recent monograph, Max Okenfuss has expressed some doubts that the abecedarium in any of its variants reached primary-level students, noting that the subject headings were printed in the old church letters (*kirillitsa*), an indication that students may have been expected to know how to read prior to using it.<sup>19</sup> Okenfuss may well be correct here, but we should point out that subject headings were directed typically at teachers rather than students. Moreover, Peter, for one, expected that the civil abecedarium would be given to students at the age of six, i.e. the normal age at which a child would begin to learn the alphabet.<sup>20</sup> At any rate, its use as an introduction to literacy was at least a plausible possibility once it was appended to the *Mirror*.

### III

No one who has studied the early eighteenth century would seriously question the conclusion that Peter aggressively supported the new alphabet or that he expected people to be able to read it. But the evidence for the accepted publishing—and, by extension, the pedagogical or social—history of his civil abecedarium is, at a number of points, quite weak. In part the problem arises from the always vexing paucity of surviving texts, but in this instance there

<sup>17</sup> Bykova and Gurevich (note 11), nos. 226, 237, 378, 753.

<sup>18</sup> Recent research has shown that abbreviated primers had been the rule in Muscovy as well, as a consequence of which Peter's text is rather less innovative than some scholars have thought. For a more detailed elaboration of this point see my forthcoming essay, 'Primers and Literacy in Muscovy' (note 8).

<sup>19</sup> Okenfuss (note 9), p. 43.

<sup>20</sup> Pekarskii (note 2), I, p. 302. The quotation is reproduced in Bykova and Gurevich, p. 264.



exists a rather extensive documentary foundation, most of it published, for reconstructing the publishing history even in the absence of surviving copies.<sup>21</sup> Much of that documentation has been mined to identify and describe otherwise unknown printings, but some important sources have been ignored or incompletely explored. More troublesome has been the tendency of some modern scholars to treat as proven facts statements that began their lives in the retrospective bibliographies, catalogues and earlier commentaries as speculative or conditional glosses on documents that were printed in nineteenth-century monographs.

For the sake of convenience, let us begin the discussion with the Moscow imprints, i.e. the initial abbreviated text, the 1710 abecedarium with moral lessons, and the 1723 Moscow *Mirror*. There is no doubt about the existence of any of these three texts, since copies of all of them have survived. Nor is there any ambiguity about their status as civil abecedaria. But in each case there are some questions of consequence about the actual date of publication and about press runs.

Bykova and Gurevich argued that the first civil abecedarium, i.e. the one that contained the letters and syllables only, must have come out at some time early in 1709, and thus was in all likelihood the 1709 abecedarium with the massive run of 14,400 copies that E. N. Brailovskii made reference to in his study of the illustrious Moscow printer, Fedor Polikarpov.<sup>22</sup> They surmise that Peter's final order to Gagarin to print the *azbuka* was made only on 8 November 1708. With all of the last-minute modifications that Peter imposed on the alphabet it is unlikely that the undated abecedarium could have appeared any earlier than February 1709, the date of Brailovskii's text.<sup>23</sup>

The fuller version of the correspondence between Peter, Gagarin and the director of the *Monastyrskii prikaz*, I. A. Musin-Pushkin, however, as reproduced in P. P. Pekarskii's *Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom*, would seem to point to a 1708 publication date.<sup>24</sup> Already in January of that year Peter had ordered the preparation of an *azbuka* of the newly designed letters, an *azbuka* that Pekarskii identified as the quarto edition that has survived to this day.<sup>25</sup> A letter from Musin-Pushkin dated 31 October 1708 would seem to confirm that the initial printing had already been made: 'following Your Highness's edict, I have sent off the *azbuki* with various letters which have just now been printed'.<sup>26</sup> Then on 27 December 1708

<sup>21</sup> Most of the documentation can be found in three places: Pekarskii (note 2), II; Brailovskii (note 12); and A. V. Gavrilov, *Ocherk istorii S. Peterburgskoi sinodal'noi tipografii* I (St Petersburg, 1911).

<sup>22</sup> Brailovskii (note 12), p. 254.

<sup>23</sup> Bykova and Gurevich (note 11), p. 536.

<sup>24</sup> Pekarskii (note 2), II, pp. 642–50.

<sup>25</sup> Pekarskii, II, pp. 642–3.

<sup>26</sup> Pekarskii, II, p. 647.



Musin-Pushkin wrote: '... And those ten books, and the 12 Calendars for 1709, and the 5 Borgsdorf books, and the *azbuka* of newly corrected letters I am sending to you with this letter ...'.<sup>27</sup> Peter acknowledged receipt of these books, including one copy of the newly corrected *azbuka*, just a week later on 4 January 1709, and he suggested some additional changes, in particular to the new letter 'Б' about which he seemed rather dissatisfied. In response, Musin-Pushkin wrote on 18 January that the latest corrections would be made forthwith. But he once again described the *azbuka* as having been printed, an indication that the corrected variant would have to wait for a subsequent printing.<sup>28</sup>

There can be little doubt that the 1708 *azbuka* to which this correspondence refers was literally a printed alphabet and little more, in other words a text that corresponds more or less to the first surviving imprint, just as Pekarskii had surmised. This could not therefore have been the Brailovskii text, a conclusion that seems to have been accepted by more recent Soviet bibliographic work, as testified to by a recent facsimile edition of the text which, although still calling it undated, identifies it as having appeared around 1708.<sup>29</sup> The identification, and more importantly the actual press run, can now be made virtually certain thanks to an archival document that includes an inventory of Moscow Press books that was taken by the chancellery of the Holy Synod in 1777, and that shows the following entry:

1708, [By an order of] January 18, Various civil books in the Amsterdam letters [among which is listed]:  
quarto *azbuki* ... 500 copies<sup>30</sup>

This modest printing makes much more sense for an experimental list of letters and syllables that were intended essentially as working drafts—albeit printed ones—than did the 14,400 print run figure that Bykova and Gurevich hypothesized. Unfortunately, affixing a specific date and print run to the first true scholastic civil abecedarium is somewhat more complex. The one surviving copy has an anonymous inscription from 29 January 1710, still more corrections and an undated inscription in the hand of Peter himself, and another inscription dated 15 February 1710.<sup>31</sup> Thus it could have been published either in 1709 or in the very beginning of 1710.

The 1777 Synodal inventory has two entries that might correspond to this information. One category lists books that were published in the civil type at

<sup>27</sup> Pekarskii, II, p. 648.

<sup>28</sup> Pekarskii, II, p. 649.

<sup>29</sup> See the cover sheet to the facsimile edition in *Repertuar* (note 10): 'Azбука grazhdanskaia nedatirovannaia (okolo 1708 goda)'.

<sup>30</sup> TsGIA (note 1), fond 796, opis' 58, no. 43, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup> Bykova and Gurevich (note 11), p. 105.



some time between 14 January 1708 and 10 February 1710.<sup>32</sup> Among these there is a reference to an abecedarium printed in quarto in a run of 500 copies. It is not clear, however, whether the books listed herein were additional to the civil press books cited elsewhere in the inventory for 1708 and 1709, or whether this constituted a duplicate listing of the same books. Thus this entry might be the second Moscow civil *azbuka*, or it might be a second reference to the first one.

The inventory does list a 1709 abecedarium published in a run of 14,000 copies (undoubtedly the February 1709 *azbuka* to which Brailovskii found reference), but this was a church-alphabet text, a further confirmation that Brailovskii had found records not to a civil abecedarium, as Bykova and Gurevich hypothesized, but to an edition of the older and well established church-centred *azbuka uchebnaia*.<sup>33</sup>

For 1710, the last year in which the civil abecedarium could have been published, there is a reference to still another *azbuka* published in a run of 12,000 copies. If this was the civil abecedarium, such a large printing would suggest that Peter was indeed committed to making his new alphabet widely known. The citation is ambiguous, however, since it comes at the end of a list of books under the heading 'Civil books in the Amsterdam letters', but it is immediately followed, without any break or indication of a new category, by books that were published only in the old type (Canticles for Easter, chanting books (*molebnoe penie*), and *Triodia*).<sup>34</sup> It was normal, in fact, for the old-type *azbuki* to be listed first in the inventory among each year's roster of old-script books, and such a reading represents the most likely rendering of this particular citation. Nevertheless, the reference remains too ambiguous to identify with certainty.

The publishing details of the Moscow *Mirror*, fortunately, are far easier to ascertain. Appendix A in Pekarskii, a document that Bykova and Gurevich seem not to have consulted, contains an inventory which was composed in 1729 and which identifies print runs for Moscow Press books that were published between 1721 and March 1726. According to this document, the Moscow *Mirror* had a run of 578 copies, a figure that Luppov accepts in his monograph on Petrine publishing.<sup>35</sup> The inventory of 1777 lists a slightly larger print run of 600 copies, but the compilers of that document typically rounded off their figures.<sup>36</sup> To be sure, both of these inventories list the *Mirror* as a 1724 imprint, whereas the title page refers to a November 1723

<sup>32</sup> TsGIA (note 1), fond 796, opis' 58, no. 43, p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> TsGIA, fond 796, opis' 58, no. 43, p. 16.

<sup>34</sup> TsGIA, fond 796, opis' 58, no. 43, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup> Pekarskii (note 2), II, p. 679; Luppov (note 15), p. 103.

<sup>36</sup> TsGIA (note 1), fond 796, opis' 58, no. 43, p. 23.



publication date.<sup>37</sup> This ambiguity is easily resolved, however, by the fact that the title page registered the year when that page was set in type, whereas the two inventories cited the year in which the finished edition actually left the Press. Thus a discrepancy of a few weeks or even months between final typesetting and public sale would have been quite normal.

For Moscow, then, we can say the following: the first, highly abbreviated, civil abecedarium was published in 1708 in a press run of 500 copies; the first full abecedarium with moral lessons in the civil script came out in 1709 or the beginning of 1710 in a run that was probably 500 copies, but may have been 12,000 copies; and the Moscow edition of the *Mirror* came out at the end of 1723 or the beginning of 1724 in a run of approximately 600 copies. Beyond these there is no evidence as yet uncovered of any other Moscow civil abecedaria from the Petrine period.

#### IV

St Petersburg, however, had become the centre of secular publishing and civil learning, and, in the view of recent scholars, the new capital produced the largest number of reprintings of civil abecedaria, both with and without the *Mirror*. Unfortunately, it is precisely these printings that present the most serious problems of documentation.

Let us turn first to the least ambiguous texts. A letter from Bruce to Peter dated 8 February 1717 leaves no doubt that the *Mirror* was designed to include an abecedarium. In this letter Bruce wrote that Peter had ordered him to find an *azbuka* that would be suitable for six-year-olds to study, 'and I found two such books, one of which I translated and attached to the *azbuka*, and these are now for sale here [i.e. in St Petersburg]'.<sup>38</sup> An examination of the first printing of the *Mirror* reveals that it had been published just four days earlier, and that the *azbuka* in question was the Moscow abecedarium of 1710, now reprinted in St Petersburg in twenty-three pages instead of nineteen, and in octavo rather than quarto.

One surviving copy of the second 1717 printing, curiously, was bound without the *azbuka*, an indication that not all of the copies of the *Mirror* contained it.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, Bruce's letter, as well as all of the other copies of the three St Petersburg editions of the *Mirror* that survive in repositories in Moscow and Leningrad, show that inclusion of the abecedarium was the norm.

No other copies of the other purported St Petersburg civil abecedaria have ever been uncovered, and as a substitute Bykova and Gurevich—and therefore all subsequent scholarship—relied upon documents that A. V. Gavrilov had

<sup>37</sup> Bykova and Gurevich (note 11), no. 753.

<sup>38</sup> Pekarskii (note 2), I, p. 302.

<sup>39</sup> Bykova and Gurevich (note 11), p. 209.



culled from the Synodal archive and reproduced in his history of the St Petersburg Synodal Printing House.<sup>40</sup> Gavrilov, though, did not identify these texts as *civil* abecedaria, merely abecedaria. This is an important distinction since Gavrilov, whose book constitutes little more than a narrative embellishment of hundreds of documents, many of which he reproduced nearly verbatim, was meticulous in differentiating civil and church alphabets wherever the sources permitted. Where the sources did not permit, he gave no indication one way or the other.

None of the available sources, in fact, identifies these printings as civil abecedaria. Presumably Bykova and Gurevich deemed them civil because there were no surviving examples of St Petersburg abecedaria in the old orthography from this period. But a re-reading of the relevant documents raises doubts about Bykova and Gurevich’s methodology, since Gavrilov listed a total of six printings (and not four) of St Petersburg *azbuki* from the Petrine era, not including the appendices to the *Mirror*, as well as two additional printings from the immediate post-Petrine years.<sup>41</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Press Run</i>	<i>Retail Price</i>
1714	200 copies	8 <i>den'gi</i>
1715	688 ..	6 ..
1717	1200 ..	5 ..
1718	1200 ..	5 ..
1721	2400 ..	5 ..
1723	2902 ..	5 ..
1726	1200 ..	5 ..
1727	2400 ..	5 ..

It would appear from the prices that all of the abecedaria printed between 1717 and 1727 were the same, although whether or not these were civil abecedaria cannot be deciphered from this information. A document which is reproduced in Pekarskii reveals that the eight-*den'gi* *azbuka* was the same as the six-*den'gi* one, and that the price was reduced in August 1715 to make the book more affordable, and thus to improve sales.<sup>42</sup> This same document, which lists monthly sales of books from the bookshop of the St Petersburg Printing House between March 1715 and March 1718 identifies all of the *azbuki* sold during the entire period identically as ‘*azbuki uchebnyia*’, an indication that they were all one and the same text. In addition, all but the last one of these abecedaria were listed together in a single archival document (Gavrilov identifies it as number 196 from the manuscripts of the Moscow Synodal Printing House) without any distinction being made between them.

<sup>40</sup> Gavrilov (note 21), p. 41.  
<sup>41</sup> Gavrilov, pp. 41 and 161.  
<sup>42</sup> Pekarskii (note 1), II, p. 692.



Thus the evidence strongly suggests that the St Petersburg Press was reprinting a common abecedarium between 1714 and 1727. Why Bykova and Gurevich identified some and ignored others is something of a mystery.

The picture becomes even more confusing when we turn to an appendix to Gavrilov's book (taken from the above-mentioned manuscript no. 196) that enumerates dispersals from the St Petersburg Printing House, where all of these books were printed, between 1714 and 1726.<sup>43</sup> Bykova and Gurevich drew two facts from this document. First, they noticed that 1200 *azbuki* were dispersed in 1717 as compared to 700 copies of the *Mirror*, from which they inferred that the Press printed a large number of civil *azbuki* in 1717, some of which were attached to the *Mirror* and others of which were sold separately.<sup>44</sup> Secondly, they discovered a reference to the sale in 1717 of sixty-eight *azbuki* that had been printed in the church alphabet in St Petersburg in 1714. They took this reference to mean that the St Petersburg Printing House had printed two abecedaria in 1714, one in the old style and one in the new.<sup>45</sup> Once again, however, their use of the data is oddly incomplete, since, as the following summary makes clear, the listing of dispersals tells us more than what Bykova and Gurevich put to use.<sup>46</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number Dispersed</i>	<i>Retail Price</i>
1714	200	8 <i>den'gi</i>
1715	20	6 .. *
1716	688	6 ..
1717	68 (printed in 1714 in the church alphabet)	6 ..
1717	1200	5 ..
1718	1200	5 ..
1721	2400	5 ..
1723	1200	5 ..
1723	1702	5 ..
1726	1200	5 ..

\* There is a discrepancy in the document for the 1715 dispersal. Gavrilov shows 20 copies of an '*azbuka russkaia uchebnaia*' being sold for 6 *den'gi* each, but with total income being 6 rubles. Obviously either the number sold was actually 200 or the total income was 0.6 rubles.

<sup>43</sup> Gavrilov (note 21), Appendix I: 'S 1714 godu, kak nachalas' knizhnaia prodazha, raznymi zvaniami, knig i protchogo i grydorovannykh listov, v vykhode iz pechati bylo po tsene porozii, pogodom, a imianno', pp. I–XLI.

<sup>44</sup> Bykova and Gurevich (note 11), p. 205.

<sup>45</sup> Bykova and Gurevich, no. 137; and T. A. Bykova and M. M. Gurevich, *Opisanie izdaniĭ napechatannykh kirillitsei 1689–ianvar' 1725 g.* (Moscow, 1958), no. 99.

<sup>46</sup> Gavrilov (note 21), pp. II, VII, XIII, XVIII, XIX, XXII, XXV, XXX, XXXIV, XXXV and XXXVIII.



Obviously there is a problem here since the dispersal figures from the Printing House do not entirely correspond with the print run figures listed earlier for the entries in 1715 and 1717. Gavrilov's roster of publications lists only one *azbuka* for 1714 rather than two, but Bykova and Gurevich's inference of a second publication would help to explain at least one of the discrepancies. Still, the fact that prices for the anomalous dispersals correspond with those that have already been accounted for is at least one indication that these may not have been wholly separate texts. Were they, then, all done in the old alphabet, and consequently intended to be used as part of the traditional Muscovite primer method of education, or is the price symmetry merely a coincidence, in which case it is possible that there were far more civil primers in circulation than is usually believed?

The sources do not allow for a definitive answer to this question, but some significant progress is still possible. On 13 December 1719 Peter ordered the St Petersburg Printing House to send a printing press for church books to the Alexander Nevskii Monastery so that the latter could begin to publish religious books in the old type.<sup>47</sup> About three years later, on 15 October 1722, the Holy Synod ordered that all of the edicts, books, notebooks and sheets that had been published in the Moscow Printing House be given new St Petersburg editions. More specifically, the Alexander Nevskii Monastery should take over responsibility for printing and disseminating all books in the old type, and the St Petersburg Printing House should print the ones in the civil type. The idea was to make St Petersburg responsible for disseminating books to the churches and monasteries of the dioceses of St Petersburg, Novgorod and Pskov, and to leave the responsibility for supplying books to all the other dioceses to Moscow.<sup>48</sup>

Theoretically these two rulings should have given the Alexander Nevskii Monastery physical control of all of the old-type presses in St Petersburg either in 1719, or at the latest in 1722. If such a division of labour had been achieved, then one could conclude with confidence that the St Petersburg Printing House's abecedaria were civil. In practice, however, that printing house continued to publish a small number of books in the old type, copies of some of which have survived, until 1727.<sup>49</sup> Thus the physical capacity to produce either variety of abecedarium was present during the entire period under consideration.

The various appendices on sales and print runs at the back of Pekarskii's second volume, however, yield more promising information. Appendix B, part 3, a listing of books that were available at the St Petersburg Printing

<sup>47</sup> Gavrilov, p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Gavrilov, pp. 146–7.

<sup>49</sup> See, as examples, the following references in Bykova and Gurevich, *Opisanie izdanii napechatannykh kirillitsei* (note 45), nos. 192, 206, 212.



House's bookshop at the end of 1722, lists among the press's own books that had been printed in the church alphabet 569 copies of an *uchebnaia azbuka* published in quarto, available at a retail price of six *den'gi* (the extra *den'ga* is accounted for by the presence of a paper binding).<sup>50</sup> The same document lists no *azbuki* among its civil-type publications for any year. Equally noteworthy, it lists no Moscow *azbuki*, which by this time were published exclusively in the church alphabet, among any of the Moscow Press books that were being sold in St Petersburg at the time. In other words, once St Petersburg began to produce its own *azbuki* it stopped bringing them in from Moscow, just as Peter had ordered. This cessation makes sense only if St Petersburg had abandoned the old abecedarium entirely—an extremely unlikely occurrence, or—more plausibly—if it was producing church-type abecedaria of its own, in which case it no longer needed to import the Moscow imprints.

Another indication that the St Petersburg abecedaria were church-type texts comes from the manner in which they were listed in sales records and the way in which they were purchased. Although the monthly sales sheets from 1715 to 1718 said nothing about typefaces, they did tend to group titles together in clusters of secular and religious books. Most of the time the *uchebnye azbuki* were listed among church books, and very often with other church instructional books. Even Luppov, who was not at all concerned with the potential significance of alphabetic changes and who looked upon all primers as somehow secular, nevertheless recognized the long-term affinity in the sales of *azbuki*, breviaries and teaching psalters from the St Petersburg Printing House.<sup>51</sup> Had these been civil abecedaria, such an affinity would not have made sense, since the books could not have been used in tandem.

There exists, finally, an enquiry made of the chancellery of the Academy of Sciences on 4 March 1736. This document comments that people of various ranks have come to the Academy asking about the availability of various books that had formerly been published by the St Petersburg Printing House prior to its closing in 1727. The document makes particular mention of 'primers' (*bukvari*) that had been printed in the church letters.<sup>52</sup> The St Petersburg Printing House printed no *bukvari* of any sort during this period, however, and the only Russian *bukvar'* that was in print between 1721 and 1736 was the *Pervoe uchenie otrokom* of Feofan Prokopovich, which was published only by the Alexander Nevskii Monastery, and later by the Moscow Synodal Printing House. Moreover, it was readily and widely available in both Moscow and St Petersburg at precisely the time when these enquiries were being made at the Academy. In all likelihood, therefore, the texts in question were the old *azbuki*

<sup>50</sup> Pekarskii (note 2), II, p. 684.

<sup>51</sup> Luppov (note 15), p. 142; Pekarskii, II, pp. 681–8.

<sup>52</sup> *Materialy dlia istorii Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk*, 10 vols. (St Petersburg, 1885–1900), vol. 3, p. 49.



uchebnye, still another hint that St Petersburg's Petrine *azbuki* were printed in the church alphabet.

## V

The evidence, then, although not conclusive, points in a single direction. There is simply no evidence whatever of any St Petersburg printings of civil abecedaria prior to the initial publication of the *Mirror* in 1717, and there is some direct reference to there having been church-alphabet ones. The abecedaria referred to in the sales list for 1717 were most likely not the same as the ones included in the octavo *Mirror*, but were merely new printings of the five-*den'gi* quarto abecedarium that was already in circulation.

The data from the 1720s further indicates church-alphabet, rather than civil-alphabet, abecedaria, most explicitly in the 1722 inventory but circumstantially from the other documents as well. In short, the most plausible inference from all of these data is that the St Petersburg Printing House was republishing a single church-centred abecedarium from 1714 until the close of the printing house in 1727. Other than the 1900 copies of the *Mirror*, therefore, St Petersburg probably produced no civil abecedaria during Peter's reign.

The overall conclusion from this rather technical review is quite clear: between 1710 and 1727 there was only one unquestionable printing of a civil scholastic abecedarium alone, in an as yet unclear press run, and four printings of the *Mirror*-cum-abecedarium with a collective run of about 2500 copies. Various inventories show that at least 1500 copies of the *Mirror* were dispersed during Peter's reign, but almost nothing is known about where or to whom.<sup>53</sup> One would expect, from their contents and from their place of publication, that most of the copies went to the children of gentry attending military academies in St Petersburg, and that few if any made their way to the lower classes. But even in the highly unlikely case that all of the copies came to be used as part of literacy instruction, the impact on the overall character of Russian literacy would have been minimal.

During the very years in which these books were in circulation, by way of comparison, there were thirteen printings of Prokopovich's *Pervoe uchenie otrokom*, a church primer and catechism in the old alphabet. Although Feofan's *Uchenie* was a multi-purpose text rather than simply a primer, one of its several intended audiences consisted of people who wanted to learn to read. The *Uchenie* directed these students exclusively to Slavonic prayer books for

<sup>53</sup> Luppov (note 15), p. 143.



further instruction, and it failed even to list the new letters.<sup>54</sup> In addition, the Moscow Printing House printed approximately 130,000 abecedaria between 1708 and 1727, all but 12,500 of which (and possibly all but 1000 of which) were unmistakably church-alphabet *azbuki*.<sup>55</sup>

At the end of Peter's reign then, general literacy meant essentially the same thing that it had meant at the beginning of his reign: the ability to read selected prayers recitatively with the possibility of progressing to more demanding devotional works, and nothing more. And under his successors, the hegemony of church-alphabet literacy grew even stronger since, with the exception of four printings of the *Mirror* (1737, 1740, 1742, 1745) at the Academy of Sciences Press, the publication of civil primers ceased altogether in the three decades after Peter's reign. These editions, moreover, were intended for the use of the Academy's own gymnasium students and possibly those in the Corps of Cadets, rather than for imparting basic literacy to students elsewhere. During these same decades the production of church primers burgeoned, an indication that the literacy for church books was expanding much more rapidly than the literacy for civil ones. It bears recalling that the post-Petrine decades witnessed a sharp grammatical and stylistic split between formal written Russian and Church Slavonic (a split that was not yet evident in Peter's time), and that each was increasingly far removed from everyday speech. In such a context the continued reinforcement of the old texts with their attendant ritualistic, non-cognitive pedagogy, and the comparative lack of success in teaching the new alphabet, boded ill for the penetration or comprehension of governmental publications, and for the nascent cosmopolitan secular culture's pursuit of an audience.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> For references to Prokopovich's primer see Pekarskii (note 2), II, p. 694; Bykova and Gurevich, *Opisanie izdaniia napechatannykh kirillitsei* (note 45), nos. 133, 136, 172, 189, 190, 190a, 193, 208, 209, 210, 211; and James Cracraft, *The Church Reform of Peter the Great* (London, 1971), pp. 276–89. There exists, of course, a vast literature on Prokopovich and his primer as well as a considerable documentary base concerning how it was intended to be used. It was used at several diocesan schools during the 1720s and 1730s, and copies of it were widely available in parishes throughout the country. Whether it ever effectively competed with or partially supplanted the old *azbuka uchebnaia*, however, is as yet not clear.

<sup>55</sup> TsGIA (note 1), fond 796, opis' 58, no. 43, pp. 14–24.

<sup>56</sup> This is not the place to review all of the various complaints about the failure of allegedly literate Russians to be able to read the civil script. Let us simply note that as late as 1781 the ecclesiastical authorities were concerned about the large numbers of literate rural clergy and beginning seminarians who were unable to decipher the civil script and who therefore could not convey the laws and official pronouncements to their parishioners. See the note in Gavrilov (note 21), p. 317.



## Стихотворения поэта «П. Я.»

М. А. Любавин

Начав печататься в 1878 году восемнадцатилетним студентом Петербургского университета, П. Ф. Якубович быстро завоевал популярность в кругах революционно-настроенной молодежи. Его стихи в журналах и списках, расхвалившиеся под псевдонимом «П. Я.», были хорошо приняты в этой среде. «Поэт «П. Я.» был самым любимым и популярным поэтом, более даже, чем С. Я. Надсон. Мы 18-19-летние юноши зачитывались его стихотворениями, а многие из них знали наизусть и даже подбирали под них музыку»,<sup>1</sup> — вспоминал позднее друг Якубовича народоволец И. И. Попов. После ареста в 1884 году Якубович по «процессу 21-го» вместе с Г. А. Лопатиным и еще пятью товарищами был приговорен к смертной казни, замененной восемнадцатью годами каторги. Отбыв одиннадцать лет в тюрьме и на каторге, в сентябре 1895 года он был выслан в Курган, где жил на положении «ссылно-поселенца, имеющего право на звание мещанина», но не имея права печататься под своим именем.

Еще в 1887 году, незадолго до суда, в Петербурге под псевдонимом «Матвей Рамшев» вышел первый сборник стихотворений Якубовича.<sup>2</sup> «Главная редакция была поручена А. К. Шеллеру, и последний, в цензурных опасениях, сильно «переборщил», выключив все лучшие и характерные мои вещи»,<sup>3</sup> — писал впоследствии Якубович. Издан сборник был «страшно небрежно, с массой самых вопиющих опечаток и промахов». <sup>4</sup> В 1894 году в Москве анонимно вышел сборник переведенных Якубовичем стихотворений Бодлера, отредактированный К. Бальмонтом.<sup>5</sup> Однако, автор не был в восторге от этой книги, считая, что сборник «мало удовлетворителен, как по выбору и недостаточному количеству стихотворений (всего 50 пьес), так и по цензурным искажениям». <sup>6</sup> Известна попытка Якубовича издать сборник своих стихотворений в 1894 году за границей через П. Л. Лаврова. Наконец в 1895 году в «Русском богатстве» начали печататься «В мире отверженных»; в это же время в журнале стали появляться и стихи за подписью «П. Я.». Но журнальные публикации не могли удовлетворить

<sup>1</sup> И. И. Попов. П. Ф. Якубович (М., 1930), с. 10.

<sup>2</sup> «Стихотворения Матвея Рамшева» (СПБ, 1887).

<sup>3</sup> ЦГАЛИ, ф. 583, оп. 1, л. 2.

<sup>4</sup> «На литературном посту», 1927, № 24, с. 31.

<sup>5</sup> «Стихотворения Бодлера» (М., 1895).

<sup>6</sup> Рукописный отдел ГПБ, ф. 426, ед. хр. 60, архив М. М. Ледерле.



поэта. Множество стихотворений, написанных до ареста, переводы, почти все написанное в тюрьме, на каторге и в ссылке оставалось в рукописях. Стихи в «Русском богатстве» были на втором плане, печатались, как писал Якубович, «на затычку», подвергаясь помимо цензуры полицейской, не менее строгой редакционной цензуре. Естественно, что Петр Филиппович не оставлял мысли о сборнике своих стихотворений, хотя имя поэта «П. Я.» на какое-то время было заслонено Л. Мельшиным — автором «В мире отверженных».

Двадцать второго октября 1896 года Якубович пишет к М. М. Ледерле — петербургскому издателю и книгопродавцу, незадолго перед тем открывшему книжный магазин, с предложением «издать переводной сборник стихотворений известного французского поэта Шарля Бодлера. Как с моим взглядом на этого писателя (мало у нас понятого и смещиваемого с «декадентами»), так и с образчиками моих переводов Вы могли бы ознакомиться из моей статьи, напечатанной в журнале «Русское богатство» за апрель текущего года».<sup>7</sup> Однако это издание не состоялось. Через несколько лет, включая отдельным разделом во второй том своих стихотворений переводы стихов Бодлера, Якубович назовет их мечтой своей жизни.

Между тем восемнадцатого февраля 1896 года заведующий конторой «Русского богатства» А. И. Иванчин-Писарев, бывший еще участником «хождения в народ», предлагает Якубовичу издать «В мире отверженных» отдельной книгой и, получив согласие автора, регулярно информирует его о том, как расходуется издание.

Переписка 1896 года сблизила Якубовича с Иванчиным-Писаревым. Двадцать четвертого августа Якубович пишет ему: «Пять экземпляров «Мира отверженных» получил еще 20-го. Нужно ли говорить Вам о том удовольствии, какое доставили мне и самый факт выхода книги и то, с какой тщательностью Вы издали ее, как мало нашел я опечаток (самых неважных) и пр. Примите же, Александр Иванович, мою сердечную благодарность!»<sup>8</sup>

Двадцать первого декабря 1896 года Якубович обращается к Иванчину-Писареву по вопросу публикации стихов:

У меня к Вам маленькое поручение. Николай Конст.<sup>9</sup> в одном из писем как-то поминал о моих стихах. Вчера я отобрал несколько пьесок, но не решаюсь тревожить самого Н. К. такими пустяками. Если найдете возможным, будьте добры покажите их ему: не годится ли кое-что для «Р. Богатства»? Впрочем, «На могиле поэта» в целом виде, конечно, нецензурно; я обвел чернилами те места, кот. можно было бы

<sup>7</sup> Рукописный отдел ГПБ, ф. 426, ед. хр. 60, архив М. М. Ледерле.

<sup>8</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 24.08.1896г.

<sup>9</sup> Н. К. Михайловский — редактор «Русского богатства».



заменить строкой точек. Не станет ли после этого цензурнее? В другом стихотв. «Забытый друг» (кстати сказать это одно из самых дорогих мне стих-ний) я сам выбросил кое-что, напр. два стиха в начале:

От счастья, и воли и светлого дня  
Как труп, навсегда отделили.

Заменил также «под сводом тюрьмы» более слабым выражением «под пологом тьмы» и т.п. Неужели и в таком виде пьеска эта не могла бы проскочить? А как бы я рад был!<sup>10</sup>

«Забытый друг» ‘проскочил’ — стихотворение было напечатано во втором номере журнала за 1897 год, а «На могиле поэта» в журнале так и не появилось.

Наконец двенадцатого апреля 1897 года Якубович осмелился обратиться к Иванчину с просьбой об издании сборника своих стихотворений. Это застенчивое, даже робкое, письмо совершенно не вяжется с публицистическими выступлениями Якубовича до ареста и после каторги, но чрезвычайно характерно для его эпистолярного стиля, когда речь заходит о себе, о своих желаниях, интересах, потребностях. Пламенный оратор и публицист превращается в застенчивого юношу:

У меня к Вам, Ал. Ив., большая просьба. Дело вот в чем. Товарищи, простодушные поклонники моей поэзии, давно наущают меня издать сборник моих стихов. — втайне души о том же и я сам мечтаю ... Но я отлично понимаю, что издателя-дурака, который взялся бы на свой риск и счет оборудовать это дело, найтись не может, и что рисковать я должен собственными деньгами. Довольно есть шансов, что книжка не пройдет через существующие сциллы и харибды. Так вот я хотел бы узнать от Вас предварительно:

Во 1-х) Согласится ли редакция «Р. б.» дать моей книге свою фирму («издание ред. ж. «Р. Б.») и так же помещать у себя объявления о ней, как и о Мельшине ...

Во 2) Сколько будет стоить издание книги в 12 печ. листов, в 500 и в 1000 экз., считая все расходы, вплоть до платы корректору и пр. И —

в 3) Нашлось ли бы у Вас, добрейший Александр Иванович, свободное время взять на себя хлопоты по организации этого издания, если бы оно состоялось? Я ставлю вопрос только о свободном времени, так как в желании Вашем оказать мне дружескую услугу не сомневаюсь.

Надеюсь, что на все эти вопросы Вы ответите мне вполне откровенно.

Крепко жму Вашу руку.

П. Якубович.<sup>11</sup>

Хранящаяся в рукописном отделе Пушкинского дома переписка между П. Ф. Якубовичем и А. И. Иванчиным-Писаревым позволяет нарисовать

<sup>10</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499, письмо от 21.12.1896г.

<sup>11</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 12.04.1897г.



картину подготовки «Стихотворений П. Я.», а фонды Главного управления и Петербургского комитета по делам печати в ЦГИА дополняют ее эпизодами прохождения книги через цензуру.

Итак, ответ Иванчина-Писарева последовал незамедлительно. Девятнадцатого апреля, соглашаясь взяться за издание, он писал: «... фирму «Русского богатства» дам только в том случае, если Вы поступите в интересах распространения книги: к инициалам 'П. Я.' прибавите «Л. Мельшин». Этот последний псевдоним уже пользуется известностью, популярность его увеличится с появлением в Р. Б. второй части «В мире отверженных», и сборник Ваших стихотворений пойдет, за что не ручаюсь, когда будут стоять на обложке одни инициалы «П. Я.».<sup>12</sup> При этом Иванчин подсчитал, что гораздо выгоднее печатать 1000 экземпляров, а продажную цену будущей книги следует установить один рубль.

Материальное положение Якубовича в Кургане было таково, что риск двумя-тремя сотнями рублей для издания собственных стихотворений заставляет его «призадуматься немного». Но тем не менее, пишет он далее, «вероятно, в конце концов, рискну — уж очень хочется издать книжку стихов. На досуге пересмотрю свой поэтич. багаж.»<sup>13</sup> Как видим, вопроса о нехватке материала не было. Дело было в отборе имевшегося материала; прежде всего с точки зрения возможности прохождения его через цензуру. Что же до совмещения псевдонимов «Л. Мельшин» и «П. Я.», то Якубович опасается как бы это не повредило прохождению через цензуру второй части «В мире отверженных», на выходе в свет которой было основано материальное благополучие его семьи. В этом же письме Якубович просит по возможности высылать ему корректуру будущей книги и назначить цену ей 75 копеек: «лишь бы только убытку большого не было».

Окончательно вопрос об издании был решен в конце апреля — начале мая во время поездки жены Якубовича Розы Федоровны в Петербург. Десятого мая по возвращении ее в Курган Якубович пишет все тому же Иванчину-Писареву:

Хотя сестра<sup>14</sup> и жена в беседе с Вами и пытались оказать мне «дружескую» услугу — убедить Вас, что не стоит издавать моих стихов, но я очень уж увлекся этой мечтой и, ловя Вас на слове, хочу таки прислать Вам в скором времени рукопись. Вот если бы Ник. Конст. мог просмотреть ее и вычеркнуть те пьесы, которые наиболее опасны для всей книги, — но я не посмею обратиться к нему с такой

<sup>12</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 648, № 42; письмо от 19.04.1897г.

<sup>13</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 28.04.1897г.

<sup>14</sup> Мария Филипповна, принимавшая в свое время активнейшее участие в издании «Стихотворений Матвея Рамшева» в 1887г.



просьбой. Что касается подписи, то в конце концов предоставляю это Вашему усмотрению.<sup>15</sup>

Как всегда главные опасения Якубовича относятся к цензурному разрешению и в этом вопросе он все более полагается на редакцию «Русского богатства», которая постоянно имела дело с цензурой. Рукопись сборника скоро была отправлена в Петербург. Это произошло скорее всего в начале июня 1897 года. Во всяком случае пятого июля Якубович пишет: «Давно уже не имею от Вас никаких вестей ... Получили ли Вы проектированный сборник моих стихов и какую резолюцию на нем положили?»<sup>16</sup>

Рукопись, между тем, превращалась в книгу. Двадцать четвертого октября 1897 года Иванчин-Писарев писал в Курган:

Я только что вернулся из Крыма ... В мое отсутствие издание Ваших стихотворений пришло почти к концу: из 12 листов напечатано 10. Книга могла бы и выйти, если бы не пришлось вставить уничтоженные, по Вашей просьбе, заголовки. Без них оригинальные стихотворения заняли бы меньше 10 листов, и к изданию были бы применена предварительная цензура, — чего вовсе не желательно. Теперь, благодаря заголовкам, книга удовлетворяет всем требованиям бесцензурного издания. Предполагаю, что Вы получите свое детище в начале ноября.<sup>17</sup>

Встреча книги с цензурой, как видим, представляется и автору и издателю самым сложным барьером на ее пути к читателю.

Шестого ноября Якубович с еле сдерживаемым нетерпением пишет в Петербург: «Как-то поживает мой сборник? ... Когда же решится, наконец, судьба книги? Я столько уже раньше времени, волновался за нее, что теперь, по правде сказать, хладнокровно жду того или иного решения ... прошу, дорогой Алекс. Иванович, — если сборник мой увидит все таки свет божий, выслать мне 20, а то, пожалуй, и все 25 экземпляров.»<sup>18</sup> А на следующий день в Петербург летит новое письмо:

Дорогой Александр Иванович!

Из письма сестры от последних чисел октября я заключаю, что сборник мой только в данную минуту ... может быть представлен, наконец, в ценз. комитет. Она пишет, кроме того, что Вы лично уверены в неизбежности перепечаток. Я сам почти все время был в этом уверен, и теперь очень жалею, что мне не приходило почему-то в голову прислать Вам несколько запасных стихотворений на этот неприятный случай ... Спешу исправить свою ошибку и посылаю кое-какие пьески ... Само собой разумеется, что я буду очень доволен, если

<sup>15</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 10 мая 1897г.

<sup>16</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 5 июля 1897г.

<sup>17</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 648 № 42; письмо от 24 октября 1897г.

<sup>18</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 6 ноября 1897г.

и в самом худом случае Вы сможете выслать мне 20-25 экз., которые я просил, в их девственном виде.<sup>19</sup>

Восьмого ноября 1897 года типография Б. М. Вольфа «имела честь» представить в Петербургский цензурный комитет «только что отпечатанный» томик «Стихотворений П. Я.». Как следует из сопроводительной типографии книга вышла тиражом 1200 экземпляров. В ней было опубликовано более пятидесяти не печатавшихся ранее стихотворений.

А уже двенадцатого ноября из Цензурного комитета последовало отношение Старшему Инспектору петербургских типографий с «покорнейшей просьбой» сделать распоряжение о приостановке выпуска книги в свет «впредь до дальнейших распоряжений». Издание было приостановлено на основании доклада цензора Соколова от того же числа. «В книге «П. Я. Стихотворения. СПб. 1898» ..., — писал цензор, — многие стихотворения проникнуты довольно туманною и неопределенною, так называемою «гражданскою» скорбью. В общем эти стихотворения не заключают в себе ничего такого, что требовало бы безусловного запрещения.»<sup>20</sup>

Особое внимание цензора привлекли два стихотворения «К Родине (Из О'Коннора)», запрещенное ранее для журнала «Мир Божий», и «В стране сопок» (впоследствии стихотворение приобрело заголовок «На утесе поэта»). Однако, поскольку «К Родине» стихотворение, «относящиеся непосредственно к Ирландии, не выходит из пределов терпимости», цензор счел возможным пропустить его. (Мифический ирландский автор спас стихотворение русского поэта.) Безусловного изъятия цензор потребовал только для сочувственного описания могилы сосланного в Сибирь и там погибшего поэта М. Л. Михайлова в стихотворении «В стране сопок».

Как пояснял в своем докладе в Главное управление по делам печати председатель Петербургского цензурного комитета при снятии ареста с книги:

Автор отыскал заглохшую и забытую могилу Михайлова, сосланного за политическое преступление в Сибирь, там умершего в какой-то глухой деревеньке. Крест на могиле его уже упал, а стоят только два креста над могилами умерших ссыльных поляков. Такая картина дышит нецензурною тенденцею, почему и предложено было издателям исключить более резкие фразы и подстрочное примечание, объясняющее, что речь идет именно о Михаиле Ларионовиче Михайлове.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 7 ноября 1897г.

<sup>20</sup> ЦГИА, ф. 777, оп. 5, 1897 год, № 154.

<sup>21</sup> ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 21, ч. 1 — 1897г. д. 170.



Как видим, цензура подошла к первому сборнику «П. Я.» чисто формально, в стиле «казенного человека» А. И. Красовского, бывшего цензором еще в пушкинские времена. В данном случае такое отношение оказалось в пользу поэта — многоопытного конспиратора, ни на минуту не забывавшего о цензоре — первом читателе своих стихов, предназначенных к печати.

Вызванный в цензурный комитет «один из издателей г. Короленко изъявил согласие на исключение указанного листа и перепечатку страниц». Типографию сумела «разогнать» строчки так, что пришлось перепечатывать всего четыре страницы, и уже тринадцатого декабря Санкт-Петербургский цензурный комитет уведомлял Главное управление по делам печати, что «книга вышла в свет с перепечатанными страницами». Ни автор, ни издатели не надеялись, что все обойдется так быстро. Последние даже на обложке и титульном листе книги выставили 1898 год, предполагая, что прохождение книги через цензуру потребует нескольких месяцев.

Посылая в Курган двадцать пять экземпляров книги, Иванчин-Писарев писал Якубовичу о результатах переговоров Короленко в цензурном комитете: «на такую легкую операцию Вы едва ли даже рассчитывали».<sup>22</sup>

«Да не рассчитывал я на столь «легкую операцию» и тем больше была радость, которую доставило мне Ваше письмо», — отвечал ему Якубович. Он был удовлетворен и корректурой, которую держала Л. В. Кострова, и внешним видом книги. О себе же он скромно писал: «все ее [книги — М. Л.] недостатки (огромность которых я глубоко сознаю) всецело обязаны своим существованием автору, но ... пословица говорит ведь: «выше себя самого не прыгнешь».<sup>23</sup> В этом же письме он просит произвести денежные расчеты по изданию стихотворений с его сестрой Марией Филипповной. Однако, как можно понять из его последующих писем, и Писарев и Кострова отказались от какого-либо вознаграждения за труды по изданию книги.

Хотя сам Якубович считал, что сборник «в литературе был встречен довольно таки равнодушно»,<sup>24</sup> следует согласиться с отзывом Е. А. Соловьева-Андреевича, помещенном двадцать девятого января 1898 года в газете «Новости».

По поводу стихотворений П. Я. в литературе вышел маленький инцидент. Одна часть критики провозгласила его чуть ли не великим поэтом, другая — чуть ли не сапожником. Одни хотят видеть в нем прямого продолжателя Некрасова, другие зубоскалят, и очень скверно зубоскалят, доказывая этим свое литературное тупоумие ... П. Я. —

<sup>22</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 648, № 42; письмо от 14 ноября 1897г.

<sup>23</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 21 ноября 1897г.

<sup>24</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 17 апреля 1898г.



несомненный поэт, имеющий свою собственную определенную физиономию, а значит, и право на свое определенное место в литературе.

Позднее, когда друзья, без ведома автора, представили книгу на соискание Пушкинской премии 1899 года, она получила почетный отзыв Академии Наук, где говорилось, «автор идет тем путем, который проложен в нашей поэзии Некрасовым».<sup>25</sup> Последнее же слово оставалось за читателем. А читатель голосовал «за». «Успех в публике сборника стихов, признаюсь был для меня неожидан (помните, я ведь рассчитывал первоначально напечатать лишь 500 экз.?)», — писал весной 1898 года Якубович Иванчину-Писареву,<sup>26</sup> который в свою очередь летом того же года писал в Курган о втором издании как о само собой разумеющемся деле.

Как и первое издание, второе предполагалось выпустить в свет без предварительной цензуры, что позволяло автору быть смелее при отборе стихотворений. По существовавшим тогда правилам без предварительной цензуры могли выходить оригинальные сочинения (но не переводы) объемом не менее десяти печатных листов. Но в это время до Якубовича дошли слухи, что по новому циркуляру печатный лист должен иметь не менее 33.000 знаков. Такое требование делало практически невозможным издание стихов без предварительной цензуры, которая была неизмеримо жестче последующей: «... рассчитывать, чтобы предварительная цензура пропустила мои оригин. стихи, невозможно»,<sup>27</sup> — писал Якубович в Петербург. Пересчитав количество знаков в одном печатном листе первого издания, он искал, чем можно было бы пополнить сборник. Объем книги надо было по крайней мере утроить! Вскоре, однако, из Петербурга пришло сообщение: требование 33.000 знаков в листе — выдумка. «Сегодня приступлено к набору. Значит, можете успокоиться впредь до новой тревоги»,<sup>28</sup> писал Иванчин-Писарев семнадцатого сентября 1898 года.

С нетерпением в курганской глуши ждет автор своей книги, выход которой все задерживается и задерживается. Наконец, двадцать седьмого декабря получается телеграмма, что книга вышла, а ни одного экземпляра все нет. (На титульном листе вышедшего накануне нового года второго издания указан год выхода 1898, а на обложке — 1899.) «Ввиду праздников, быть может, нельзя было сброшюровать книжки, но один-то экземпляр можно бы было и не сброшюрованный послать ... Признаюсь, мне приходят в голову и совсем уж нехорошие мысли, — что телеграмма

<sup>25</sup> Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Академии Наук 1903г., № 2, с. 12-13.

<sup>26</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 17 апреля 1898г.

<sup>27</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 4 сентября 1898г.

<sup>28</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 648, № 42; письмо от 17 сентября 1898г.



была не от Вас, и я неверно ее понял, а сборник и не думал вовсе выходить.»<sup>29</sup> недоумевал Петр Филиппович. Девятого января Якубович шлет Иванчину телеграмму, десятого снова пишет: «Решительно не понимаю, дорогой Александр Иванович, чем объяснить столь долгую неприсылку сборника (хоть бы один-то экземплярчик увидеть!) и Ваше молчание ...».<sup>30</sup> Изолированный от своего мира автор, для которого почта единственная связь с сотрудниками и товарищами, буквально места себе не находит.

Наконец, высланные из Петербурга четвертого января приходят в Курган экземпляры книги. И в ответ успокоившийся Якубович пишет Иванчину обширное послание:

Дорогой Александр Иванович,  
Сборник, наконец, пришел и, разумеется, доставил мне великую радость ... Что касается бумаги,<sup>31</sup> то она, конечно, не из лучших сортов, но это не беда; книжка все-таки имеет если не изящный, то вполне приличный вид. Но вот что доставило мне, дорогой Александр Иванович, несколько горьких минут: опечатки! Их почему-то вышло гораздо больше, чем было в 1-ом издании, или, может быть это потому кажется мне (со страху), что некоторые из этих опечаток весьма существенны, — напр., «В любви к себе мой стих я закалял» вм[есто] «к тебе», или «мука редкой гостьей стала» вм. «и муза». Или еще «Я сам был вождь» (!) вм. «я сам себе был вождь». Если попадается все это на зубок «Нов. Вр.» и К<sup>о</sup>, так достанется автору на орехи за влюбленность в самого себя и пр.!

Но, разумеется, и это огорчение в конце концов, вздор, и когда вспомнишь, что могло быть нечто худшее, то улыбаешься только. Одно только пришло мне в голову: нельзя ли отпечатать хоть несколько десятков листочков ... с важнейшими опечатками и вложить их в те книжки, которые Вы будете рассылать по редакциям ...

В заключение, одна просьба: если книжку корректировала Л. В. [Кострова], то ради бога не огорчайте ее содержанием настоящего письма. Я давно думал, что идеально хорошо корректировать стихи может только тот, кто сам их пишет, так что Л. В. мне в голову не приходит в чем-нибудь винить!

Кстати о стихах. Вы просите от меня больше стихов в нынешнем году, а у меня как раз нынче предвидится на них большой неурожай: малопозитическую полосу приходится вообще переживать за последнее время — так тяготит этот проклятый Курган с его проклятыми житейскими условиями и полной оторванностью от людей и живой жизни! ... Несколько стишков на днях все-таки пошлю.

Ваш П. Якубович.

<sup>29</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 7 января 1899г.

<sup>30</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 10 января 1899г.

<sup>31</sup> В плохо сохранившемся письме Якубовичу от 4 января 1899г. Иванчин-Писарев сообщает, что поставщик бумаги обманул его, доставив бумагу, не соответствующую выбранному образцу.

Р.С. Как-то будут расходиться стихотворения? Хотя бы в 1½–2 года разошлось 2-е издание!<sup>32</sup>

Второе, исправленное и дополненное издание содержало целый ряд новых публикаций, среди них и заключающая сборник «Песня труда», опубликованная как перевод с английского в разделе «Из иностранных поэтов» под заглавием «Восемь часов». История создания и неудавшаяся попытка публикации этого стихотворения в «Русском богатстве» подробно рассмотрена Б. Н. Двиняниновым<sup>33</sup> — автором основных исследований творческой биографии Якубовича. Отметим лишь, что менее зависимый от редакции «Русского богатства» в подборе стихотворений для своих сборников, Якубович включил его как только убедился, что «Русское богатство» печатать эти стихи не будет. Второе издание вышло как и первое тиражом 1200 экземпляров без особых осложнений с цензурой и расходилось неплохо. Во всяком случае через месяц после выхода книги Иванчин-Писарев уже видит реальным и третье издание «Стихотворений П. Я.», которое вышло в конце 1899 года, когда поэт П. Я. оказался в Петербурге — на положении полубольного, полузаклученного. Переписка его с Иванчиным-Писаревым и с редакцией «Русского богатства» с момента появления Якубовича в Петербурге носит уже отрывочный характер — записки, открытки, т. к. основные вопросы решались при личных встречах. С 1901 года сборники стихотворений Якубовича выходят в двух томах. Причем после получения прав гражданина самодержавного государства в 1903 году Якубович уже не стремился к конспирации и с 1906 года его стихотворения выходят уже с раскрытием псевдонимов.

Популярность стихов Якубовича была велика; по мере продажи они выходили новыми и новыми изданиями. Последнее, уже посмертное, издание первого (считая от первого издания 1898 года) тома вышло в 1913 году с пометой «Седьмое издание». Помимо сборников с назреванием новой революционной ситуации в России все чаще стихи Якубовича печатались в виде брошюр, в газетах и листовках.

Впоследствии, в 1918 году, столь созвучное настроению революционных масс творчество Якубовича будет объявлено государственным народным достоянием. Однако, пока что с ростом популярности стихов в революционной, особенно в пролетарской, среде росло и сопротивление цензуры, осознавшей новую, не существовавшую для нее ранее опасность стихов П. Я.

<sup>32</sup> ИРЛИ, ф. 114, оп. 2, ед. хр. 499; письмо от 15 января 1899г.

<sup>33</sup> П. Ф. Якубович. Стихотворения. Библиотека поэта. Большая серия. Второе издание (Л., 1960). Вступительная статья и примечания Б. Н. Двинянинова. Б. Н. Двинянинов. Меч и лира (М., 1969).



Так, в 1913, более чем через два года после смерти Якубовича, в Главное управление по делам печати из Санкт-Петербургского Губернского жандармского управления поступила брошюра «Из стихотворений Л. Мельшина (П. Я.) «Жизнь — борьба, а не рабство ...». Издание Н. Е. Парамонова. «Донская речь» в Ростове-на-Дону; цензурное разрешение от 15 июля 1904 г.» Главное управление направило брошюру ростовскому инспектору, который

нашел, что в помещенных в этом сборнике стихотворениях «Битва жизни», «Человек», «Журавли» и «Фантазия» в аллегорической форме описываются и восхваляются бунтовщические стремления и выступления, убитые революционные деятели выставлены достойными подражания борцами за правду и героями. Революционное настроение автора, скрывающееся под маской стремления к правде и свободе, может легко найти отклик в умах незрелых читателей и вызвать подражание.

В сборнике затрагиваются и социальные вопросы: так в стихотворении «В театре» тенденциозно подчеркивается противоречие классовых интересов; в стихотворении «Батрак» тенденциозно указывается на разорение землепашца за невзнос податей, которые автор иронически называет «священной заповедью неба»; в стихотворении «Несчастные» каторжники называются «светлыми страдальцами свободы», «замученным теньям», которых автор «шлет привет». Под видом «Святой» автор представляет доступную революционерку.<sup>34</sup>

В итоге на книгу был наложен предварительный арест, а против издателя окружной прокурор возбудил судебное дело. Суд, однако, снял арест с брошюры, изданной восемь лет назад и не стал преследовать ее издателя.

Не удивительно, что по указанию «сверху» ростовский инспектор внимательно и придирчиво прочитал книгу, дав вполне дельный анализ восьми из тридцати трех стихотворений (почти одна четверть содержания брошюры). Анализ этот основан не на чисто формальном толковании пунктов цензурных правил, а прежде всего на довольно трезвом социально-политическом прочтении текста стихотворений. Удивительным в этой пространной полицейской рецензии, кажется, что все восемь крамольных стихотворений были опубликованы в различных изданиях сборника Стихотворений П. Я. и повременных подцензурных изданиях. По всей вероятности, в то время эти стихотворения были пропущены не только потому, что некоторые из них подавались как переводные, а кое-где были опущены самые крамольные строки. Дело в том, что ситуация, складывавшаяся в стране, была осознана литературно-

<sup>34</sup> ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 17, 1913 год, дело № 384.

полицейскими властями с некоторым опозданием, и восприятие стихов Якубовича читателями было этими властями по настоящему осознано уже после его смерти. В данном случае, как и в 1905 году, когда после девятого января поэт П. Я. был на несколько недель посажен за решетку, жандармы и полиция оказались проницательнее и оперативнее, чем цензоры. Цензура, однако, тоже сумела положить свой цветок на могилу поэта, вырезав и уничтожив «посредством разрывания на мелкие части» в 1915 году несколько стихотворений из сборников, изданных в 1910 и 1913 годах. Среди уничтоженных оказались «Красный снег», посвященное девятому января 1905 года, и «Земля», проникнутое «явным стремлением автора возбудить в читателях крайне враждебное чувство по отношению к помещикам».<sup>35</sup> Цензура здесь была совершенно «права», но тираж сборников уже в основном разошелся.

<sup>35</sup> ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 10, № 1578.



# Modern Czech Book Design and Illustration

Devana Pavlik

Czech illustration is still relatively little known outside its own country and, although the situation is better on the Continent, it is virtually unknown in Britain except for some current children's books issued mostly through Hamlyn. The lack of source material in the English language could be the reason why developments in Czechoslovakia are not mentioned in works on the history of European book arts. But even in the Czech language material is not easily available. A comprehensive history of Czech book design and illustration does not yet exist, and information about the subject can so far only be gleaned from journal and newspaper articles, occasional monographs on individual artists, and exhibition catalogues, which are extremely difficult to obtain.

The exhibition 'One Hundred Czechoslovak Books' in London in 1929<sup>1</sup> represented one of the first attempts to acquaint the British public with modern Czechoslovak book design. Twenty years later, in 1949, an exhibition of nearly four hundred Czech books was mounted at the Grillion Galleries under the auspices of the Czechoslovak Embassy.<sup>2</sup> In the United States the emigré designer Ladislav Sutnar had an exhibition in the 1960s and, more recently, in 1984, a travelling exhibition of the twentieth-century Czech book was organized.<sup>3</sup> In 1987 the January issue of *Fine Print* was dedicated to Czech book arts. Slowly modern Czech book design is beginning to be appreciated by book collectors outside its own country, and works of the Czech avant-garde are beginning to appear in catalogues of specialist Western European and American booksellers. In 1986 the British Museum mounted an exhibition of recently acquired Czech original prints and produced a well researched and richly illustrated catalogue.<sup>4</sup> In conjunction with this exhibition, the British Library presented a display of forty-one Czech illustrated books from its collections to complement the original graphic work of printmakers, several of whom were also book designers and illustrators who contributed greatly towards the development of the Czech book arts. The present article is based on a gallery talk given at the exhibition.

The modern Czech book is now firmly established as a major genre of the applied arts in Czechoslovakia. Both readers and book collectors have come to

<sup>1</sup> P. H. Toman, *Zdenka Braunerová* (Prague, 1963), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Exhibition of Czechoslovak Book Design*, arranged by the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Republic and the Czechoslovak Ministry of Culture (London, 1949).

<sup>3</sup> 'Czechoslovakia and the Book', *Fine Print* 13, no. 1 (1987), p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> I. Goldscheider, *Czechoslovak Prints from 1900 to 1970* (London, 1986).

expect the high quality of design and illustration which was developed in the first half of this century through close cooperation between author, artist and publisher. It was the book that became for some artists the chief vehicle for their self-expression, and literature often provided inspiration for Czech artists, some of whom became better known for their illustrative work than for their paintings, watercolours or original prints. There are some whose work has been familiar to Czech people from their first ABC books and whose artistic imprint has become deeply rooted in the national cultural consciousness.

Book illustration has an old tradition in the Czech lands, beginning with illuminated manuscripts, continuing with woodcuts in early printed books, and followed by copper and steel engravings. The eighteenth-century outlook on illustration as having a role secondary to the text was first challenged in France and England, where artists and publishers made the first efforts to improve the quality of book illustration. Lithography, a technique beloved by Romantic illustrators, never really took off in Bohemia<sup>5</sup> despite the fact that it was invented by a native of Prague, Alois Senefelder, in 1798.

Wood engraving, re-introduced in England by Thomas Bewick at the end of the eighteenth century,<sup>6</sup> and fully revived as a fine art by the 1840s, enjoyed its golden age in the 1860s.<sup>7</sup> It began to be introduced in Bohemia via Germany towards the end of the 1850s. In Prague in 1857 the publisher Karel Bellmann engaged the leading Czech artist Josef Mánes (1820–1871) to make drawings for wood engravings for the *Královédvorský* manuscript (Fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> The manuscript was a Romantic literary forgery in the manner of Ossian, 'discovered' in 1817. At the time of Mánes's commission to illustrate its new edition it was still being accepted as a genuine thirteenth-century Czech epic. In his drawings Mánes aimed at a much higher quality of work than was the accepted current standard. He wanted to recreate a picture of the 'Golden Age' of the Czech nation and give a definite art form to a hazy image of the life of his ancient forbears. In a synthesis of current knowledge of the social life of the ancient Slavs, based on historical sources and archaeological finds as well as folk costume and his own artistic imagination, Mánes succeeded in creating what is basically a pagan Slavonic type.<sup>9</sup> His figurative drawings are complemented by ornamental design which was based both on these historical sources and on illuminated manuscripts from the Middle Ages.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> H. Volavková, *Mikoláš Aleš a česká kniha* (Prague, 1933), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> S. Houfe, *The Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1978), p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> Houfe (note 6), p. 133.

<sup>8</sup> A. Matějček, *Mánesovy ilustrace* (Prague, 1952), p. 60.

<sup>9</sup> Matějček (note 8), p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> Matějček (note 8), p. 79.





Fig. 1. Illustration by Josef Mánes for *Rukopis Kralodvorský*, 1861 (original page size 375 × 270mm)



Unfortunately it seems that the Czech public was not yet ready for what would today be an expensive 'coffee table' book. Only five subscribers were found for the first instalment (1861) and the whole project came to a halt, with most of Mánes's drawings remaining unused.<sup>11</sup> The British Library's copy bears an ownership stamp of a very early date (1863), but it is not known whether the British Museum was one of the five subscribers. The edition is certainly a very scarce one. The Museum of Applied Arts in Prague exhibited recently only a reprint from 1917.<sup>12</sup> Mánes's art was at the beginning influenced by German Romanticism but he created his own style, enriched by a realistic outlook appreciated by later generations,<sup>13</sup> and he laid down foundations which were built upon by later artists.

Mánes's influence is perceptible in the work of his immediate follower Mikoláš Aleš (1852–1913),<sup>14</sup> the most talented artist of his generation, who became the country's best loved illustrator. Aleš's work spanned some forty years and he produced over eight thousand drawings.<sup>15</sup> His favourite technique was pen-and-ink using a pen made from reeds. He produced numerous illustrations for magazines, including humorous cartoons (*Paleček* in the 1870s and *Šotek* and *Květy* in the 1880s), but it was the commission in 1884 to illustrate the Královédvorský and Zelenohorský manuscripts that gave him the chance to carry further Mánes's heritage and develop his own, specifically Czech, style.<sup>16</sup> Among his best work are illustrations for historical novels by his contemporaries A. Jirásek and K. V. Rais, with both of whom he maintained a lifelong relationship.<sup>17</sup> These little genre scenes enabled him to develop fully his greatest strength—the depiction of Czech country folk. The lyrical qualities of Aleš's style were best utilized in illustrations for the collection of Czech folk poetry and songs *Špalíček* (Fig. 2) (issued periodically in the last three decades of the nineteenth century).<sup>18</sup> In his compositions for this work, which has delighted several generations of Czech readers, Aleš showed a deep feeling for the integration of the text with the illustration, as he did not merely provide a picture but also hand-drew the text to blend in with it. Aleš has been called the Czech Walter Crane,<sup>19</sup> and it is a measure of Aleš's magic that a hundred years later his illustrations are still being regularly published (the latest edition of *Špalíček* was issued in 1985).

<sup>11</sup> Matějček (note 8), pp. 110–111.

<sup>12</sup> J. Rous, *Česká kniha na přelomu 19. a 20. století* (Prague, 1983), p. [18].

<sup>13</sup> Volavková (note 5), p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Volavková (note 5), p. 75.

<sup>15</sup> E. Pacovský, 'Vývoj českého umění ilustračního', in *Československá vlastivěda 7* (Prague, 1933), p. 532.

<sup>16</sup> K. B. Mádl, *M. Aleš* (Prague, 1912), pp. 60–65.

<sup>17</sup> Volavková (note 5), pp. 96–98.

<sup>18</sup> 'Czechoslovakia and the Book' (note 3), p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Volavková (note 5), p. 84.





Fig. 2. Illustration by Mikoláš Aleš for *Špalíček*, 1950 (original page size 293 × 210mm)

Aleš's depiction of ordinary life was a definite step towards realism in Czech book illustration. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of large publishers (J. Otto, J. R. Vilímek, F. Šimáček) who founded illustrated magazines such as *Světlozor* (1867) and *Zlatá Praha* (1884).<sup>20</sup> Their pages responded readily to the efforts of new, aspiring illustrators as well as those already well established. The flourishing literary life of the period stimulated the growing publishing industry that moved more towards large, popular editions with illustrations rendering in detail the domestic life of town and country. The importance of the general appearance of the book began to be realized. Bright publishers' pictorial cloth bindings were the speciality of Viktor Oliva (1861–1928), the most significant artist of the commercial book production of the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century. Oliva was an artist who not only knew how to respond readily to the application of photomechanical reproduction to book illustration but was also able to incorporate his own ideas and innovations. His idea of releasing the illustration from the stereotyped framed composition and placing it within the text<sup>21</sup> produced memorable illustrations for the poetry of J. Neruda, S. Čech and J. Vrchlický. He was the first among Czech illustrators to move away from a descriptive accompaniment of the text towards a visual expression of the overall atmosphere of the literary work, and is said to be the first illustrator to comprehend fully the tragedy of K. Mácha's *Máj*, the classic poem of Czech Romanticism.<sup>22</sup> Oliva was also the first artist to bring to the notice of the Czech reading public the social problems of the day.<sup>23</sup>

Oliva was one of the young artists emerging towards the end of the century who felt the need to come into personal contact with developments in the main art centres of Europe. One of the first to go to Paris was Luděk Marold (1865–1898), a talented artist who was soon in great demand by Paris publishers of illustrated magazines and books for his elegant drawings of contemporary Parisian society.<sup>24</sup> The 'gay nineties' style of his masterly black-and-white gouaches of beautiful young ladies was also a great success in Prague where Marold became much imitated.<sup>25</sup>

A Czech artist whose name became synonymous with the French *art nouveau* was Alphonse Mucha (1860–1939). Mucha was one of the artists who had a high regard for the heritage of Mánes and Aleš.<sup>26</sup> But while Mánes's

<sup>20</sup> J. Rous, 'Viktor Oliva', *Nové knihy* 9 (1987), p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> J. Procházková, *Výstava z díla Viktora Olivy* (Prague, 1977), p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Rous (note 20).

<sup>23</sup> Procházková (note 21), p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> P. Wittlich, *Česká secese* (Prague, 1985), pp. 97–99.

<sup>25</sup> J. V. Scheybal, *Adolf Kašpar* (Prague, 1957), p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> E. Svoboda, 'Alšovy knižní a časopisecké ilustrace', in *Mikoláš Aleš: ilustrace*, by H. Volavková (Prague, 1964), p. 224.



languorous female type and his ornamentation were made more Czech by Aleš, they were developed into a more international style by Mucha. Mucha is mainly remembered for his posters and other graphic designs but, according to his son, the writer Jiří Mucha, 'he himself laid great importance on this aspect of his work and it is in his book illustrations that he gave full expression to his main preoccupations in life—nationalism and religion.'<sup>27</sup> The best among Mucha's illustrated books are those in the *art nouveau* style (R. de Flers's *Ilsée*, 1897; *Le Pater*, 1899) published in Paris and reissued in Prague. His illustrations for books on historical subjects (S. Čech's *Adamité*, 1897; C. Seignobos's *Scènes et épisodes*, 1896–1898) point to his lifelong interest in monumental historical painting.<sup>28</sup> For these Mucha selected his subjects with great care<sup>29</sup> and his best scenes in this style reflect a certain visionary quality.

František Kupka (1871–1957), who made France his home and later became a leading abstract painter, also started his life as an illustrator. His contributions to the French satirical magazine *Cocorico*<sup>30</sup> and his social and political cartoons for the anarchistically orientated journal *L'Assiette au beurre* (1901–1904)<sup>31</sup> were followed by French bibliophile editions (*Song of Songs*, 1905; Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, 1906; Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, 1911),<sup>32</sup> featuring his etchings with colour aquatints. His work for the Prague publisher F. Šimáček concentrated on lithographic designs for soft book covers for the poetry of his close friend J. S. Machar. Kupka's theoretical work *Tvoření v umění výtvarném*, which he began in 1907, was published in Czech translation in 1923. His abstract woodcuts are used in the book both as a decoration and as a medium of instructive presentation.<sup>33</sup>

The late 1890s were the turning-point in the further development of the Czech book and, indeed, in the whole sphere of the Czech arts. This was the period summed up by the critic F. X. Šalda as 'the opening of windows onto Europe'.<sup>34</sup> Czech artists began to be better informed about current European developments through travel, studies and work abroad. Knowledge of the latest trends could also be gained from Prague exhibitions of foreign artists (W. Crane, 1896), foreign journals like *The Studio*, *Jugend* and *Ver sacrum*, and the pages of the newly founded Czech artistic journals *Moderní revue* (1894) and *Volné směry* (1896). The growing importance of the decorative arts

<sup>27</sup> J. Mucha, Foreword, in *Alphonse Mucha: The Complete Graphic Works*, edited by A. Bridges (London, 1980, repr. 1983), p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> A. Dvořák, 'Illustrations for Books and Periodicals', in *Alphonse Mucha* (note 27), p. 129.

<sup>29</sup> Dvořák (note 28), p. 131.

<sup>30</sup> L. Vachková, *Frank Kupka* (London, 1968), p. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Wittlich (note 24), p. 135.

<sup>32</sup> 'Czechoslovakia and the Book' (note 3), p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> 'Czechoslovakia and the Book' (note 3), p. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Cited in J. Rous, *Krása a význam české knihy* (Prague, 1979), p. 21.



throughout Europe renewed an interest in original printmaking<sup>35</sup> and in the art of the book, which had declined with the advent of commercial publishing. The pioneer figure in the movement for the book as a beautiful artefact was the painter and graphic artist Zdenka Braunerová (1858–1934). During her stay in France (where she studied) and England (she visited London in 1886),<sup>36</sup> Braunerová made friends with French and English artists and thus had first-hand contact with developments taking place in the book crafts in France and Britain. Braunerová was especially impressed with the work of English private presses and the influence they exerted on commercial book production. She was particularly taken by the designs and fine printing done by the medievalist William Morris.<sup>37</sup> In the wake of Morris's example she turned for inspiration to Czech Renaissance and Baroque printing. She aimed at creating harmony among all the elements that go into book production, and sought perfection in her designs as well as in the choice of materials and the workmanship. In 1897 she made designs for Vilém Mrštík's novel *Pohádka máje*. This is now considered as the first nineteenth-century Czech book to have a truly modern appearance.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, only the first edition has the quality Braunerová aimed at, which seems to have been possible to achieve only under her personal supervision. Braunerová's most distinctive creations were rich decorative borders, headpieces, and highly stylized and orientalized initial letters, for which she had no rival in Czech artistic circles. While the concept reveals Morris's influence, it was Czech folk art, oriental art and the black-and-red type and motifs of early printed books that provided the inspiration. Braunerová's work reached its peak in the first twenty years of the twentieth century. Notable are her wood engravings and drawings for the books of her friend M. Marten, such as *Cyklus rozkoše a smrti* (1907) (Fig. 3), her designs for the women's magazine *Kalendář paní a dívek* (from 1911), and especially *In memoriam Karla Hynka Máchy* (1910), a masterpiece of unity of graphic design and typography achieved in partnership with the typographer Karel Dyrnk.<sup>39</sup>

While Braunerová prepared the ground for the development of Czech book arts, it was the versatile graphic artist Vojtěch Preissig (1873–1944) who brought to a conclusion the efforts of the 1890s generation, and provided the theoretical as well as the practical foundation for the development of twentieth-century Czech book design. Preissig is best known as the illustrator of the classic of Czech children's literature, J. Karafiát's *Broučci* (1903). This book is now recognized as one of the first modern Czech books to combine

<sup>35</sup> Goldscheider (note 4), p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> *Encyklopedie českého výtvarného umění* (Prague, 1975), pp. 70–71.

<sup>37</sup> Toman (note 1), p. 56.

<sup>38</sup> Rous (note 12), p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Toman (note 1), p. 64.



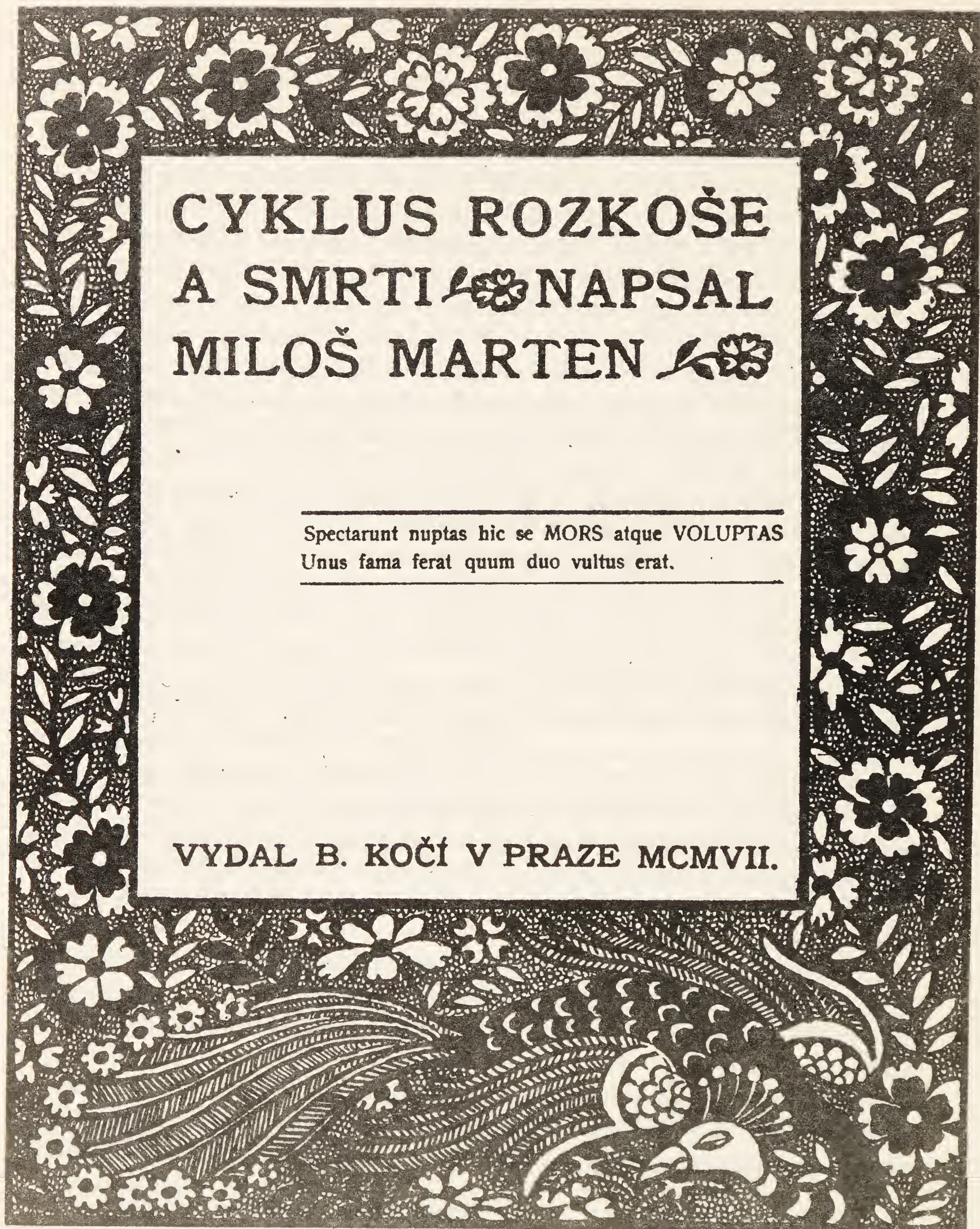


Fig. 3. Zdenka Braunerová's title page for *Cyklus rozkoše a smrti* by Miloš Marten, 1907  
(original page size 215 × 160mm)



successfully all the elements of graphic design into a unified whole.<sup>40</sup> The sensitive balance between the coloured illustration, additional decorative detail and typography<sup>41</sup> is a masterly demonstration of Preissig's restrained Secessionist style. In 1909 Preissig published his own work, *Barevný lept a barevná rytina*,<sup>42</sup> and in the same year the newly created Bibliophile Club issued P. Bezruč's *Slezské písně* (Fig. 4), designed and illustrated by Preissig. *Slezské písně* is perhaps the most powerful social verse written in the Czech language and Preissig's design is correspondingly striking in its simplicity. The pale grey tone of the symbol of a thorn used in initial letters and in the design of the title page focuses the attention on the text, which is presented with a force through the thick black types adopted by Preissig. Engraved illustrations are kept to a minimum and presented as plates. One of them depicts a cactus with a solitary red bloom, the subject of Bezruč's poem *Červený květ*, also employed by Preissig for the poet's bookplate. Preissig had a lifelong interest in typography and founded a typographic workshop with the intention of promoting modern Czech graphics. His efforts were, however, not appreciated and he decided to seek new prospects in America. He became principal of the School of Graphic Arts at the Wentworth Institute in Boston.<sup>43</sup> On his return to Prague he devoted his time mainly to abstract painting. He was arrested during the German occupation for his part in publishing the illegal magazine *V boj*, and died in the Dachau concentration camp.<sup>44</sup>

The spiritual leader of Czech Symbolists and Decadents at the turn of the century was Arnošt Procházka (1896–1925), the publisher of *Moderní revue*, which became the platform for the Decadent movement. He also issued small editions of foreign and Czech Symbolist writers and in these series he paid attention to design, concentrating on clean, streamlined book covers.<sup>45</sup> Many Symbolist artists produced graphic work which was in some way utilized in book production, and there were several for whom the book became an integral part of their work. The leading Symbolist painter and graphic artist was Jan Preisler (1872–1918). Preisler's work developed into one of the purest examples of the European 'new art' which, beside the attributes of that style, carries its own Czech specificity.<sup>46</sup> The artist Z. Kratochvíl said that while

<sup>40</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), p. 391.

<sup>41</sup> Wittlich (note 24), p. 194.

<sup>42</sup> 'Czechoslovakia and the Book' (note 3), p. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Goldscheider (note 4), p. 391. From this period dates Preissig's discussion with the theoretician D. C. McMurtrie (in the *Ben Franklin Monthly*, 1923), who opposed Preissig's introduction of unequal line lengths in typographic design (a concept later advanced by Eric Gill, see *Typografia* 31 (1924), pp. 30–32).

<sup>44</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), p. 391.

<sup>45</sup> Wittlich (note 24), p. 116.

<sup>46</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), p. 388.



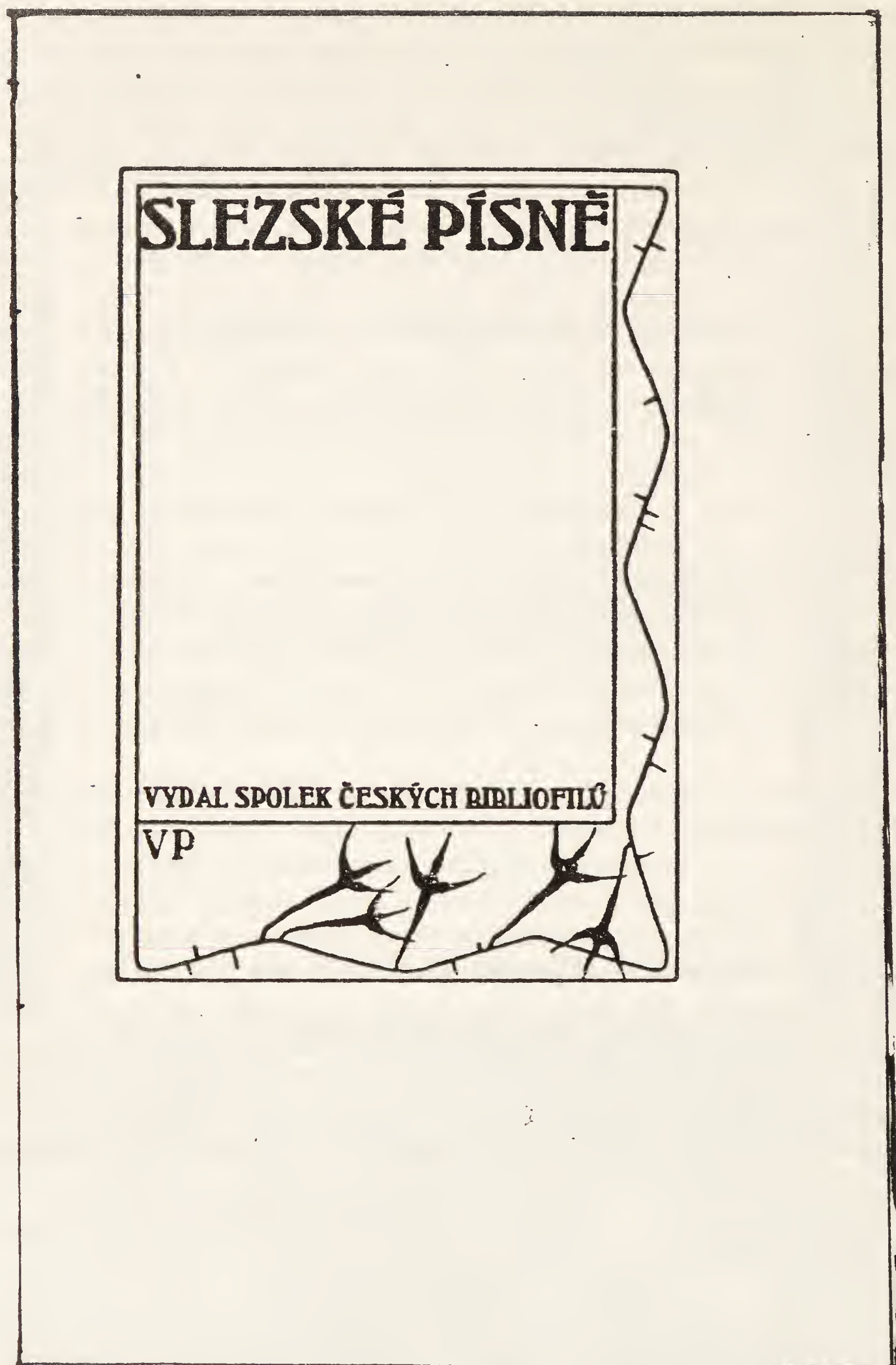


Fig. 4. Vojtěch Preissig's title page for *Slezské písně* by Petr Bezruč, 1909 (original page size 200 × 125mm)



Aleš expressed the Czech spirit, Preisler expressed the Czech soul.<sup>47</sup> The dreamy melancholy ever present in his paintings is also mirrored in his graphic work and book illustration. He illustrated mostly the poetry of his fellow Symbolists (for example, J. Opolský's *Jedy a léky* of 1901), but among his most highly regarded illustrations are his charcoal drawings for the poems of J. Neruda, which appeared as a commemoration to the poet in the journal *Volné směry* (vol. 6, 1901–1902).<sup>48</sup> Preisler was the editor of the journal and influenced its form as well as its contents.

Another artist whose work was inspired by Symbolism was František Bílek (1872–1941). Bílek was primarily a sculptor and this is reflected in his approach to graphic work including book illustration. He favoured figurative subjects and achieved monumentality even in small-scale compositions. Bílek's best illustrations were made for the poetry of his contemporary Otakar Březina, with whom he shared an interest in the mystery of the human soul and the eternal question of human existence<sup>49</sup> (*Ruce*, 1901). Bílek's favourite graphic technique was the woodcut, the art of which he revived. As a sculptor he worked mostly in wood,<sup>50</sup> and wood seemed to respond best to Bílek's mystical and visionary visual images. His elongated human figures with uplifted arms and heads turned upwards convey his ideas of mystical ecstasy, of integration with the cosmos, but above all of stretching towards the source of light in its physical and metaphysical meaning.<sup>51</sup> Bílek's art has been compared with that of the great English visionary William Blake. It was Bílek's fellow artist Zdenka Braunerová who first pointed out similarities between the two artists.<sup>52</sup>

Karel Hlaváček (1874–1898), the greatest Czech Decadent poet, was also a graphic artist who made etchings and engravings to illustrate his own poetry (*Pozdě k ránu*, 1896). He also contributed illustrations to the journal *Moderní revue* and won an international competition to provide a headpiece for the Polish journal *Życie*.<sup>53</sup>

The aim of the Symbolist illustrators was to evoke, through visual imagery, the emotional atmosphere of a literary work, which they achieved through the use of basic symbols and images. František Kobliha (1877–1962), one of the most important representatives of Czech Symbolism, first became acquainted with the Symbolist world through the pages of *Moderní revue*. Here he read Nerval, Wilde, Mallarmé, Marten and others whose works were to inspire him

<sup>47</sup> F. Žákavec, *Jan Preisler* (Prague, 1921), p. [53].

<sup>48</sup> A. Matějček, *Jan Preisler* (Prague, 1950), p. 48.

<sup>49</sup> F. Šmejkal, 'Česká symbolistní grafika', *Umění* 16 (1968), pp. 1–25.

<sup>50</sup> Goldscheider (note 4), p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> P. Wittlich, 'Secesní Orfeus', *Umění* 16 (1968), pp. 26–49.

<sup>52</sup> Z. Braunerová, 'František Bílek', *Volné směry* 4 (1900), pp. 113–134.

<sup>53</sup> T. Vlček, 'Velká lyra ... Karla Hlaváčka', *Umění* 23 (1975), pp. 299–325.



in his choice of subjects for his wood engravings.<sup>54</sup> Kobliha produced several albums of original prints which paraphrased literary works. Two of these were inspired by Hlaváček's poetry (*Pozdě k ránu*, 1909, and *Mstivá kantiléna*, 1910) (Fig. 5), and *Máj* was a Symbolist paraphrase of Mácha's Romantic classic.<sup>55</sup> Beside these cycles of original prints, Kobliha illustrated some one hundred and fifty books.<sup>56</sup> Many carry either a figurative frontispiece representing the central character (Marten's *Cortigiana*, 1911) or one depicting the theme of the work (Opolský's *Ze tmy do tmy*, 1926). Here death awaits a man at the end of a long, winding path. The prolific output of later years concentrates on decorative accompaniment to the text, the basic element being the flower, whose symbolic and decorative qualities Kobliha fully utilized in his highly stylized black-and-white compositions.<sup>57</sup>

A singular figure among the artists of this period was the versatile and often contradictory Josef Váchal (1884–1969), who belonged to the younger generation of Symbolists but whose personality and art was so individualistic that he defies any categorization.<sup>58</sup> Váchal studied painting and printmaking, but the most interesting part of his work was in his books. Czech Baroque printed books had a lasting influence on his work, and he often paraphrased their style with his own sardonic humour. His interest in spiritualism and mysticism also left a strong mark on his work. Apart from designing and illustrating other people's work he wrote, designed, printed and bound his own texts, for which he also designed and cut his own typefaces. The text came into existence at the same time as it was being cut. He hand-cut whole pages in one woodblock, incorporating both text and illustrations in the manner of fifteenth-century block-books, and produced some sixty books in this way, some of enormous proportions.<sup>59</sup> He developed his own method of multi-colour printing from one block and described the technique in a handbook, *Receptář barevného dřevorytu*, issued in 1934 in an edition of seven copies.<sup>60</sup> Editions of Váchal's books usually ranged from between seven to twenty copies, but he is known to have destroyed woodblocks after printing only a single copy of a book.<sup>61</sup> His books are consequently very rare and his work is practically unknown even in his own country, although he has always been highly regarded in artistic circles. A complete collection of Váchal's books is deposited at the National Museum in Prague and a

<sup>54</sup> F. Šmejkal, 'Básník noci', *Umění* 22 (1974), pp. 340–354.

<sup>55</sup> Šmejkal (note 54), p. 354.

<sup>56</sup> Šmejkal (note 54), p. 350.

<sup>57</sup> V. Jirát, 'Koblihovy florální komposice', *Hollar* 19 (1943), pp. 37–52.

<sup>58</sup> J. Štastný, 'O Josefu Váchalovi', *Hollar* 11 (1935), pp. 1–14.

<sup>59</sup> Štastný (note 58), p. 14.

<sup>60</sup> M. Mrázová-Schusterová, *Josef Váchal a kniha* (Prague, 1968), pp. 18–19.

<sup>61</sup> Mrázová-Schusterová (note 60), p. 8.





Fig. 5. Wood engraving by František Kobliha from his album *Mstivá kantiléna*, 1911  
(original page size 290 × 230mm)



selection is exhibited in their Museum of the Book in Ždár nad Sázavou.<sup>62</sup>

Jan Konůpek (1883–1950), one of the founding members of the group of Symbolist graphic artists Sursum (1911), was a graphic artist whose sense of drama and narrative qualities made him an ideal illustrator. In his graphic cycles inspired by works of literature and his book illustrations he encompassed the whole range of European literature, but depth of personal experience was often replaced by speculatively constructed symbols and allegories.<sup>63</sup> Konůpek's early work is of most interest.

The influence of Symbolism survived in the Czech arts into the 1920s, but the young generation of artists emerging with the new century also looked elsewhere for their inspiration. In 1903 a competition for the illustration of a jubilee edition of *Babička* by B. Němcová, a classic of nineteenth-century Czech literature first published in 1853, was won by a young artist Adolf Kašpar (1877–1934).<sup>64</sup> In his charming watercolour drawings Kašpar depicted the way of life in a nineteenth-century Czech village in a realistic style and yet managed to convey the slightly nostalgic feeling of Němcová's major work. His illustrations for *The Grandmother* have remained the most successful illustrations ever produced for this book. As an illustrator Kašpar was always in demand, and he was at his best in detailed genre studies in watercolour. His narrative style rendered his work highly suitable for the illustration of historical novels and, together with Aleš's, Kašpar's illustrations helped in the popularization of the work of A. Jirásek (*F. L. Věk*, 1911) and K. V. Rais (*Zapadlí vlastenci*, 1923).

The best known Czech illustrator abroad is Josef Lada (1887–1957), the creator of the soldier Švejk for J. Hašek's celebrated novel *Dobrý voják Švejk* (first published with Lada's illustrations in 1926), which now seems inseparable from Lada's thick, black outline drawings. Lada's talent for humorous sketches made him an ideal magazine illustrator and he worked for many, both Czech and foreign.<sup>65</sup> Apart from *Švejk*, he is best liked for his coloured drawings, done mostly for children's books, in which he evokes his country childhood. The scenes of daily village life in different seasons of the year are handled simply and brilliantly. His style shows some influence of Czech naive folk paintings, and also a strong heritage of Aleš, whom Lada greatly admired, but it is unmistakably Lada's own.

In the early 1920s the artists Vratislav H. Brunner (1886–1928), Jaroslav Benda (1882–1970) and František Kysela (1881–1941) brought into the world of book design Czech Decorativism, a style that dominated Czech applied arts at the time and developed into the official style of the young Czechoslovak

<sup>62</sup> 'Výstavy', *Časopis Národního muzea*, Ř. hist., 154, čís. 3–4 (1985), p. 202.

<sup>63</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), p. 225.

<sup>64</sup> B. B. Buchlovan, *Knižní ilustrace Adolfa Kašpara* (Prague, 1942), p. 9.

<sup>65</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), pp. 260–262.



Republic. Czech Decorativism, which initially grew out of Cubism of the 1910s, incorporated in its compositions the principles of folklore ornament, and eventually included stylized floral motifs of Czech folklore.<sup>66</sup> The style's affinity with national folklore rendered it eminently suitable to represent the new state, proud of its regained sovereignty. It also expressed the optimism with which the young republic looked into its democratic future.<sup>67</sup> Kysela and Brunner combined traditional Czech motifs with those of the Italian Renaissance; their title pages, covers and bindings juxtaposed stylized flowers and foliage with geometrical shapes. Benda inclined more towards simpler lines and clearer composition.

A field in which a great step forward was made in Czechoslovakia in the first twenty years of the twentieth century was typography. It was typography, as well as artistic bindings, for which Czechoslovakia received the greatest recognition at the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels held in Paris in 1925.<sup>68</sup> Important developments in this sphere are connected with the names of V. Preissig, Karel Dyrynk (1876–1949), Method Kaláb (1885–1963) and Oldřich Menhart (1897–1962).

Typography was also in the forefront of interest of the Czech avant-garde. The impact on Czech artists of new currents in European art after the First World War, namely the Bauhaus and Russian Constructivism, demonstrated itself in the formation of the art group Devětsil. The group brought together young artists of leftist tendencies and the name was chosen to indicate the group's dedication to a collective effort. Devětsil became the platform for Constructivism and Poetism, two interrelated styles that perhaps best exemplified the aims of the Czech avant-garde of the 1920s. The spokesman and theorist of the movement was Karel Teige (1900–1951), who introduced the philosophy of 'New Typography' and, like El Lissitzky and L. Moholy-Nagy before him, formulated its principles into a programme. His essay *Poetismus* (1924) became Devětsil's manifesto. Teige defined Poetism as 'neither literature ... nor painting ... the poetist's picture is a book, photograph, photomontage. Poetism is the art of living.'<sup>69</sup> Poetism grew out of the needs of Czech art and was Prague's answer to the transition between Cubism and Surrealism. The style demonstrated itself in both content and form, and some poems were predominantly visual creations. It was Teige who proved to be the most resourceful artist in applying Constructivist theories in practice and who produced the most sophisticated designs. The appearance of the Czech book changed radically owing to Teige's theoretical and creative

<sup>66</sup> A. Adlerová, *České užité umění 1918–1938* (Prague, 1983), p. 27.

<sup>67</sup> Adlerová (note 66), p. 28.

<sup>68</sup> V. Laudová, 'Z výtvarných dějin knihy', *Čtenář* 38, čís. 6 (1986), p. 208.

<sup>69</sup> Adlerová (note 66), p. 105.



work.<sup>70</sup> One of the best examples of the use of modern typography to intensify the visual power of the printed word is his design for J. Seifert's *Na vlnách TŠF* (1925).<sup>71</sup> Another black-and-white design—V. Nezval's *Abeceda* (1926) (Fig. 6)—is perhaps the best example of bringing together, in a visual poem, various kinds of artistic expression. Teige was one of the designers who worked for the new publishing house Odeon.<sup>72</sup> K. Biebl's *Zlom* and *S lodí ježdováží čaj a kávu*, both published by Odeon in 1928, are examples of Teige's use of the technique of typomontage—a coloured, geometrical composition created from purely typographic elements.<sup>73</sup> In the 1930s Teige directed his interest towards Surrealism, again both in theory and practical applications. He was especially interested in the art of collage which he used in his book cover designs.<sup>74</sup>

The painter and illustrator Josef Šíma (1891–1971) was also a member of Devětsil, but he lived and worked in Paris for the greater part of his life. His art is often classified as Surrealist but he never belonged to Breton's group of Surrealists. He was, in 1928, one of the founders of another group of French artists—Le Grand Jeu. With them and the Surrealists he believed that the artist's inner life and emotions were the main source of inspiration. Illustrative work formed an important part of Šíma's art and he continued to publish in Czechoslovakia, as well as France, especially for the Aventinum publishing house, but also for Odeon and other publishers.<sup>75</sup> His black-and-white drawings were sometimes enhanced by a hint of colour wash and his style is best characterized by his portrait studies, in which he manages to capture, with a few sensitive thin pen lines, the inner world of the subject. Most of his illustrations were done for contemporary poetry for which his imaginative style was eminently suitable (S. K. Neumann, *Píseň o jediné věci*, 1927, etc.).

Another two members of Devětsil who went to live in Paris in the 1920s were Jindřich Štyrský (1899–1942) and Toyen (pseudonym of Marie Čermínová, 1902–1980). It was in Paris that they developed their own style which they called 'Artificialism'. It was based on the associative and evocative qualities of an abstract colour structure.<sup>76</sup> From Artificialism their style developed into Surrealism and in 1934 they were both founding members of the Czech Surrealist group. Štyrský was one of the first European Surrealists to make coloured collages. In book illustrations he used mainly collages, but

<sup>70</sup> F. Šmejkal, 'Český konstruktivismus', *Umění* 30 (1982), pp. 214–243.

<sup>71</sup> Adlerová (note 66), p. 107.

<sup>72</sup> 'Czechoslovakia and the Book' (note 3), p. 20.

<sup>73</sup> Šmejkal (note 70), p. 227.

<sup>74</sup> M. Bohatec, *Karel Teige a kniha* (Prague, 1965), p. 19.

<sup>75</sup> J. Rous, *Josef Šíma: knižní grafika a kresby* (Prague, 1985), p. [8].

<sup>76</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), pp. 517–518.





Fig. 6. Karel Teige's design for *Abeceda* by Vítězslav Nezval, 1926 (original page size 295 × 230mm)



also drawings and lithographs. As for all Surrealists, the inspiration for Štyrský's graphics as well as for his paintings came from the world of dreams. He kept a diary of his dreams, analysed them and would then select the main theme, an important detail, often a symbolic object, which personified the contents or the atmosphere of a particular dream.<sup>77</sup> Štyrský and Toyen often worked in partnership, especially in the design of book covers (J. Honzl, *Roztočené jeviště*, 1925). Toyen used a variety of techniques and introduced some new and original concepts into book illustration. Her graphic designs (and her paintings) are characterized by her ability to combine fragility with extravagance and by images from the world of bizarre fantasy.<sup>78</sup> In 1936, on the hundredth anniversary of the death of the Czech Romantic K. H. Mácha, Toyen tried her hand at illustrating Mácha's *Máj* (published again in 1937 with Štyrský's illustrations), and on the same occasion Devětsil issued a collection of articles and graphics, *Ani labut' ani luna*, expressing their opposition to the official approach to Mácha's anniversary celebrations. Štyrský died in 1942 and Toyen returned to Paris in 1947, where she became a member of André Breton's group of Surrealists. The work of the Surrealists fell into disfavour when the Communist Party came into power in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Šíma and Toyen escaped the personal persecution and harassment to which their fellow artists from Devětsil were exposed for their views, which differed from the official line. Vicious attacks in the cultural weekly *Tvorba* were eventually replaced by a silence which lasted for some twenty years.

Early book cover designs of František Muzika (1900–1974) belong to the period when the Constructivists experimented with photography and photo-montage. Muzika later turned to Functionalism and Cubism and, abandoning illustration altogether after 1945, concentrated on purely typographical design which set the standard for the appearance of the Czech book for many years to come. His lifelong experience in typography was gathered into his work *Krásné písmo ve vývoji latinky* (1958). It was also published in German translation, but unfortunately an English edition never materialized, despite the interest expressed by English publishers.<sup>79</sup> The work of Ladislav Sutnar (1897–1976) is closely connected with the publishing house Družstevní práce whose house-style, characterized by its austere typography, he developed in the early 1930s. Sutnar later went to the United States where he continued to work as a graphic designer and opened a design office in 1960.<sup>80</sup>

Josef Čapek (1887–1945) was an accomplished writer of poetry, essays and drama as well as a journalist and an art critic. In paintings and graphic art he

<sup>77</sup> V. Linhartová and F. Šmejkal, *Štyrský a Toyen, 1921–1945* (Brno, 1966), pp. 12–13.

<sup>78</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), pp. 534–535.

<sup>79</sup> F. Šmejkal, *František Muzika: kresby, scénická a knižní tvorba* (Prague, 1984), pp. 149–168.

<sup>80</sup> Adlerová (note 66), p. 235.



started under the influence of Cubism, but soon developed his own, highly individualistic style with a strong Czech element. In company with the 1920s avant-garde, Čapek had a deep understanding of the art of advertising, which he applied in his designs for book covers. He was an artist who mastered the art of the use of minimum means to maximum effect. Using simple formulae, he managed to convey the atmosphere of the book, the personality of the author and, at the same time, give the reader some idea of the contents. The strong and contrasting qualities of his favourite technique—the linocut—were well suited to his bold designs<sup>81</sup> and combined effectively with the coloured papers he liked to use. Despite the large number of book covers (over five hundred) made by Čapek, they all reflect the care and thought that had gone into their making. They convey a great variety of ideas and fresh approaches, which is perhaps most obvious when they are seen in their entire range. He varied his designs even for one title, and produced new linocuts for different impressions of the same book. Čapek never repeated himself, and his experience as a painter stood him in good stead when it came to experimenting with various colour combinations. Čapek's book covers not only stood out among similar work done by his contemporaries but are unlike anything produced by a single artist either before or after him. His earliest cover designs date back to 1915, and he continued to produce them until his arrest by the Gestapo in 1939.<sup>82</sup> He illustrated and designed his own work as well as that of his brother, the writer Karel Čapek, and other Czech and foreign authors. His work was mostly done for O. Štorch-Marien's Aventinum, but he also worked with the publishing houses Petr, Borový, Čin, Melantrich, and others.

As an illustrator Čapek favoured thick, black pen-and-ink drawings or pastel drawings. He was at his best when he could express some humour and his optimistic approach was eminently suitable for children's book illustration. Čapek's achievements are still used as a criterion for assessing the standards of today's children's book illustrators.<sup>83</sup> His cat and dog characters which he created in 1929, both writing their adventure stories and illustrating them, continue to delight Czech children (Fig. 7). A book of these stories was translated into English and published in 1963 (reissued again in 1975).<sup>84</sup>

The post-1945 period is dominated by Karel Svolinský (1896–1986), a painter, graphic artist and illustrator whose talent was recognized early in his career when, as a student of Professor Kysela at the School of Applied Arts,

<sup>81</sup> B. Stehlíková, 'Josef Čapek', *Nové knihy* 9 (1986), p. 8.

<sup>82</sup> J. Čapek's own essay on book covers was written for the journal *Přítomnost* (Roč. 1, 1925, pp. 748–749) and reprinted several times since, also in V. Thiele, *Josef Čapek a kniha: soupis knižní grafiky* (Prague, 1959), pp. 19–24.

<sup>83</sup> B. Stehlíková (note 81), p. 8.

<sup>84</sup> J. Čapek, *Harum Scarum: The Adventure of Puss and Pup* (London, 1975).



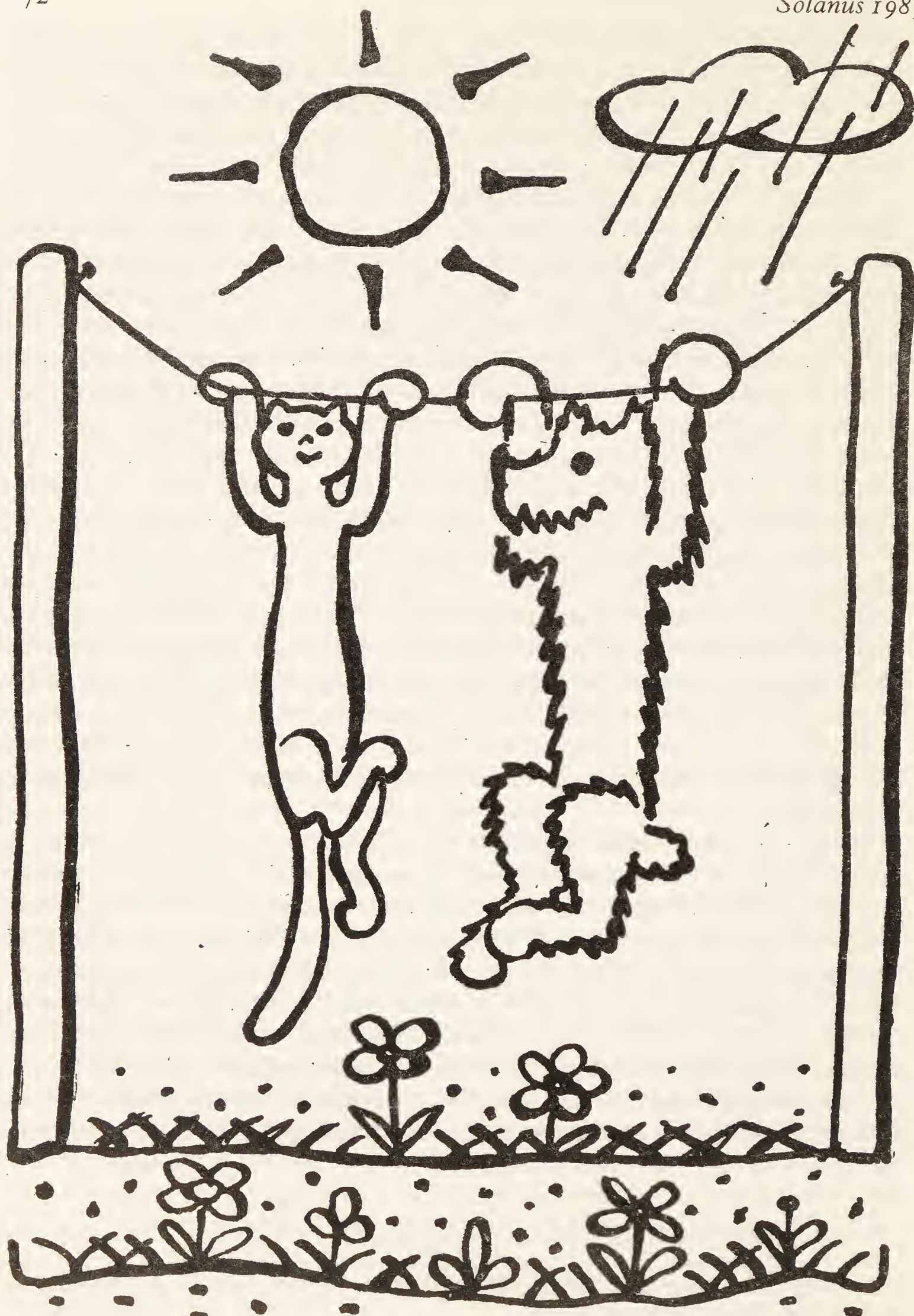


Fig. 7. Josef Čapek's drawing for his *Povídání o pejskovi a kočičce*, 1929 (original page size 275 × 200mm)



he won the Grand Prix at the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels for Mácha's *Máj*.<sup>85</sup> The book, published in a limited edition of thirty-five copies, was entirely a product of Svolinský's own design, including the typefaces.<sup>86</sup> The result was a perfect balance between the overall design, the type and the striking full-page wood engravings. Svolinský's designs developed further under the initial influence of Czech Decorativism but soon acquired their own specific style. His drawings are characterized by their dynamic, clearly outlined images and vivid colouring. The lyrical qualities and the distinct Czech flavour of Svolinský's style connect his illustrations directly with Aleš, and this is nowhere more apparent than in the four volumes of *Český rok* (1947–1960), a collection of Czech folk poetry and prose, a splendid twentieth-century equivalent of Aleš's *Špalíček*.

The timeless quality of the highly individualistic paintings of Jan Zrzavý (1890–1977) is mirrored in his book illustrations. He produced illustrations only occasionally, some purely under inspiration, without a publisher's commission.<sup>87</sup> Thus some have never materialized in print. He devoted most of his attention to the work of the late nineteenth-century Czech writer J. Zeyer (*Dům u tonoucí hvězdy*, 1957; *Olgerd Gejstov*, 1959), but also illustrated Dostoevskii, Hugo and Pierre Loti.

A highly personal approach to the selection of literary material was also the hallmark of František Tichý (1896–1961), a painter and graphic artist whose illustrative work started in 1939 with a bibliophile edition of Lermontov's *Demon*, for which he made four etchings.<sup>88</sup> Later he worked mostly in dry-point<sup>89</sup> and continued to illustrate only authors with whose work he felt an emotional affinity and who could fire his imagination—Cervantes (Fig. 8), Poe, Stevenson, Rimbaud, Coleridge and Arbes.<sup>90</sup> Illustrations for E. Bass's *Cirkus Humberto* (1942) gave him the opportunity to evoke, in a graphic technique, the gaudy, illusionistic but often tragic atmosphere of the circus which he also immortalized in his paintings.

One of the leading Czech painters of today, Ota Janeček (1919– ), is also a graphic artist and an important illustrator who has received prizes at several international events. In Britain an exhibition of his work took place in Cardiff in 1984.<sup>91</sup> A close relationship between the painter and the illustrator is apparent in Janeček's use of colour which remains the primary element and whose lyrical qualities he fully employs,<sup>92</sup> especially in his illustrations of

<sup>85</sup> *Encyklopedie* (note 36), pp. 497–498.

<sup>86</sup> O. H. (Introduction) in K. H. Mácha, *Máj* (Prague, reprint 1980), Vložka, p. [8].

<sup>87</sup> B. Stehlíková, 'Jan Zrzavý', *Nové knihy* 13 (1986), p. 8.

<sup>88</sup> F. Dvořák, 'Ilustrované knihy Františka Tichého', *Hollar* 33 (1962), pp. 145–151.

<sup>89</sup> J. Marco, *O grafice* (Prague, 1981), p. 302.

<sup>90</sup> B. Stehlíková, 'František Tichý', *Nové knihy* 48 (1986), p. 8.

<sup>91</sup> J. Kotalík and L. Hlaváček, *Ota Janeček* (Cardiff, 1984), pp. 40–43.

<sup>92</sup> B. Stehlíková, 'Ota Janeček', *Nové knihy* 46 (1985), p. 8.





Fig. 8. František Tichý's cover design for *Příběhy Dona Quijota* by Cervantes, 1955  
(original size 244 × 170mm)



poetry (F. Hrubín's *Trávy*, 1951 and 1969). It is mostly in his children's book illustrations, for which he is best known and greatly admired by both children and adults, that the colour becomes complemented by linear drawing (*Slabikář*, 1976).

The post-war editions of nineteenth-century fiction found their faithful illustrator in Karel Müller (1899–1977), whose seemingly realistic genre studies have a strong poetic element. In his approach to book illustration, Müller followed in the footsteps of A. Kašpar in his role of narrative mediator between author and reader. Much of his work is characterized by its soft and subtle colour lithography, while his black-and-white drawings and etchings<sup>93</sup> show how well he understood the mood of the characters. Among the foreign authors he illustrated are Pushkin, Dickens, the Brontës, Andersen and Chamisso.<sup>94</sup> The best among his illustrations of Czech classics are those depicting life in Prague's Little Quarter where he grew up and which he knew and loved so well (Neruda, Herrmann, Arbes).

Cyril Bouda (1901–1984) experimented with various graphic techniques, especially in bibliophile publications. He used wood engravings for Oscar Wilde's *The Ghost of Canterville* (1930), copper engravings for the Czech edition of Cellini's autobiography (which was made for the 1936 competition of the New York Limited Editions Club, where it was highly acclaimed), and coloured lithography (S. Čech, *Ve stínu lípy*, 1940).<sup>95</sup> For commercial editions he used mostly watercolour or coloured chalk drawings. Bouda's style is characterized by dynamic composition and by a sense of humour which he applied to his rich range of figurative studies.

Together with his fellow artists from Group 42, Kamil Lhoták (1912– ) decided to paint 'the world in which we live'.<sup>96</sup> Lhoták also follows this credo in his book illustrations in which he depicts, in bold, primary colours, the reality but also the poetry of everyday life in the city suburbs. He also recalls with enthusiasm and slight nostalgia the world of early bicycles, motor cars and aeroplanes as he remembers it from his childhood (A. Branald, *Dědeček automobil*, 1955).

The subtle graphic lyricism of Ludmila Jiřincová (1912– ) renders her art eminently suitable for illustrating poetry. Her delicate drawings, usually depicting either human figures or flowers, are well known to readers of poetry, both modern and classic. Although she concentrates mostly on Czech authors, she has also illustrated Villon, Shakespeare and Desnos. Her first

<sup>93</sup> Marco (note 89), p. 298.

<sup>94</sup> B. Stehlíková, 'Karel Müller', *Nové knihy* 15 (1985), p. 8.

<sup>95</sup> B. Stehlíková, 'Cyril Bouda', *Nové knihy* 5 (1986), p. 8.

<sup>96</sup> F. Dvořák, *Kamil Lhoták* (Prague, 1985), p. 23.



pencil drawings appeared in Seifert's *Pantoumy o lásce* in 1940, and she has since illustrated some two hundred and fifty titles.<sup>97</sup>

There are other illustrators who have produced notable work and who would deserve to be mentioned. Many new artists have emerged in the second half of this century, and their work represents a wide variety of concepts. Now, as in the past, Czech book illustration is remarkable for its diversity, its range of styles, techniques and moods. Throughout the modern period, Czech artists have been aware of and influenced by mainstream European movements. However, much of their work is firmly rooted in national, particularly folk, tradition. This bond has enabled them to transform foreign influences and to create a distinctive style of their own.

<sup>97</sup> B. Stehlíková, 'Ludmila Jiřincová', *Nové knihy* 49 (1985), p. 8.



## Kost' Dovhan (1902–?) on the Social Influence of the Book ★

Edward Kasinec

Since the early 1960s, a significant body of literature has developed in the Soviet Union dealing with all aspects of the history of the book in Russia proper, as well as in the other union republics which now constitute the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the work carried on in the Soviet Ukrainian republic has perhaps not received the attention that is its due among Western specialists on the history of East Slavic book culture. Such Ukrainian-language works as have been reviewed in the West have dealt primarily with the history of the Church Slavonic book in the Ukraine, or with the catalogues of such imprints which have been published in recent years. Far less well known are the Soviet Ukrainian works of such specialists as L. I. Holdenberg, S. V. Sorokovs'ka and others, dealing with the early years of Soviet Ukrainian book culture.<sup>1</sup>

One of the major lacunae in Soviet Ukrainian, and for that matter in Soviet Russian, historiography on book culture is a full and connected explanation of the transformation in Soviet book studies which took place during the early 1930s.<sup>2</sup> This transformation was characterized by, among many other things, the imposition of Marxist–Leninist philosophy on all aspects of Soviet book studies. Ironically, the censorship of non-Marxist publications carried out openly during the 1920s, in a period of active intellectual debate, was in the 1930s carried out surreptitiously and without scholarly justification. One important signpost along the road, showing the movement from Ukrainian to Soviet Ukrainian book studies, was the work of a man then only in his late twenties, Kost' Dovhan. His career and work is characteristic of those who came to maturity during the early years of Soviet rule in the Ukraine. Not surprisingly, his work has attracted little attention—but for different

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, S. V. Sorokovs'ka, *Ukrains'ka radians'ka istorychna bibliohrafiia* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1980), as well as Holdenberg's *Kniga i knizhnoe delo v Ukrainsskoi SSR* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1986) and *Teoriia ta istoriia radians'koi knyhy na Ukraini* (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> 'Postscript: 1931 in the History of Ukrainian Bibliography', in Edward Kasinec, *Slavic Books and Bookmen: Papers and Essays*, Russica Bibliography Series, No. 3 (New York: Russica, 1984).



reasons—among both Western Ukrainianists and scholars of the history of book studies in the Soviet Union.<sup>3</sup>

### The Context

The decade after the conclusion of World War I saw some important attainments on the part of Ukrainian bookmen in the Soviet Ukraine, in Galicia and in emigration.<sup>4</sup> In the Soviet Ukraine, bookmen organized themselves into a number of research centres, the most important of which were the Ukrainian Scholarly Institute of Book Studies (Ukrains'kyi naukovi instytut knyhoznavstva) in Kiev, the Ukrainian Book Chamber (Knyzhkova palata) in Kharkiv, the Bibliographical Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kiev) and the Ukrainian Academy Library in Kiev. Each of these institutions published journals and proceedings.<sup>5</sup>

One important feature of this period was the fruitful cooperation in print which existed between Soviet Russian and Ukrainian bookmen on the one hand, and between Soviet Ukrainian, Ukrainian emigré and Western bookmen on the other. It is clear from a careful reading of Dovhan's work that Ukrainian institutions during the 1920s played an important role in the overall development of Soviet book studies. The earliest Soviet translations of Western bibliographical literature appeared in the Ukraine, and Ukrainian

<sup>3</sup> There is an unsigned entry for Dovhan in the *Entsiklopediia Ukrainoznavstva*, vol. 2 (Paris and New York, 1955–1957), p. 556. Quoting no printed evidence, the author states that Dovhan was arrested during the late thirties. See also M. Ovcharenko (ed.), *Zbirnyk na poshanu ukrains'kykh uchenykh znishchenykh bol'shevits'koiu Moskvoiu*, Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Shevchenka, Tom LXXIII (Paris and Chicago, 1962), p. 268.

Soviet scholars have mentioned Dovhan's works only in passing. For example: E. L. Nemirovskii, 'Istoriografiia sovetskoi knigi', *Kniga* 35 (1977); A. N. Vaneev, *Razvitie biblioteko-vedcheskoi mysli v SSSR* (Moscow: Kniga, 1980); A. G. Fomin, *Knigovedenie kak nauka* (Leningrad: Kubuch, 1931); A. A. Belovitskaia, *Obshchee knigovedenie* (Moscow: Kniga, 1987), pp. 58–9.

Although Dovhan's Russian contemporaries I. V. Novosadskii (1907–1941), P. N. Berkov (1896–1969) and M. B. Vol'fson (1880–1932) were also accused of embracing 'vulgar sociological views' in book studies, they are given entries in *Knigovedenie: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (Moscow: Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia, 1981); Dovhan is not.

<sup>4</sup> For a suggestion of some of this work, see Edward Kasinec, 'Ivan Ohienko (Metropolitan Ilarion) as Bookman and Book Collector: The Years in the Western Ukraine and Poland', in Kasinec (note 2), pp. 49–59.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, some of the important bibliographical scholarship prepared during this period was never published. The *Knigovedenie: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (note 3), p. 521, in its entry on Iaroslav Ivanovich Steshenko (1904–1939), secretary to the journal *Bibliolohichnye visty*, notes that in the 1920s he worked on a bibliography of Ukrainian-language publications issued in the Russian Empire, 1798–1916, the cards for which were deposited in the libraries of the Soviet Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, but which was never published. The reason for this may lie in the fact of Steshenko's parentage. His father, I. M. Steshenko (1873–1918), was a well known literary critic, poet and translator. He also served as General Secretary and then later as Minister of Education in the Ukrainian National Republic's government. On 29 July 1918 he left for Poltava, but was shot and died on 30 July.



scholars, such as Olena V. Maslova (exiled to Central Asia in the 1930s), Pavlo M. Popov (1890–1971) and N. M. Pakul', were responsible for some of the first works published during the Soviet period on the history of the Russian book. Ukrainian and Russian scholars living in emigration, among them Ilarion Ohienko (Metropolitan Ilarion) (1882–1971), Lev Bykovsky (b. 1895), Ilko Borshchak (1891–1959), as well as a number of others living in Galicia and Czechoslovakia, were regularly published in the pages of *Bibliolohichnye visty* (published 1923–1930), the organ of the Ukrainian Scholarly Institute of Book Studies. (The fourth issue of this journal for 1930 was published in 1122 copies!) Soviet bookmen, too, such as Mikhail N. Kufaev (1888–1948), Aleksei A. Sidorov (1891–1978) and Aleksandr Iu. Malein (1869–1938), were published in the Ukrainian book studies press. Ukrainian bookmen, among them Dmytro A. Balyka (1894–1971), Mykhailo Hodkevych (d. 1941) and Serhii F. Posternak, participated in many of the all-union symposia and conferences held in Moscow and Leningrad in the 1920s.

### His Life

Of Dovhan's life we know little. In one of his works he identifies himself as a graduate student between 1926 and 1928 at the Ukrainian Scholarly Institute of Book Studies, while in another source he is identified as secretary to Iurii O. Ivaniv-Mezhenko (1892–1969), director of the Institute.<sup>6</sup> His first publications began to appear in 1926, but the majority of his writings were published between 1929 and 1931. Significantly, the remainder of his writings are found in Soviet manuscript repositories and remain unpublished.<sup>7</sup> Judging by the notes in his published articles, he seems not to have known foreign languages: he invariably cites Western works in their Russian and Ukrainian translations. Dovhan's public appearances came at conferences in the 1930s: the first, before the Society of Militant Materialists-Dialecticians (Tovarystvo voiovnnychkh materialistiv-diialektykiv) (Kiev, 29 May 1931);

<sup>6</sup> Writing to his wife in 1923 from Kiev, Harry Miller Lydenberg, then Chief Reference Librarian in the New York Public Library, described a visit to the Bibliographical (i.e. Bibliological) Institute, where he met the person in charge, undoubtedly Mezhenko: 'This latter gentleman is an ardent Ukrainian patriot, and, though a graduate of the University of Moscow where naturally Russian is the language of students and instructors, refused to talk anything but Ukrainian with this man from Moscow [a librarian from Moscow who had accompanied Lydenberg to the Institute]. Miss M[otovilova] acted as interpreter for him and for me, though the bibliographical man really understood our Russian and French as well as his own tongue. After it was all over I had to say on our way home that these Ukrainian extremists remind me of the professional Irishman who refuses to use English in any form and is enraged if he hears another use it. However, so far as our interview went, no hostilities occurred ....' Quoted in Robert A. Karlowich, 'Stranger in a Far Land: Report of a Bookbuying Trip by Harry Miller Lydenberg in Eastern Europe and Russia in 1923–24', manuscript pages 34–5; to be published in the 1989 issue of *Bulletin for Research in the Humanities*, New York Public Library.

<sup>7</sup> See the preliminary bibliography below.



the second, at the All-Ukrainian Bibliographical Conference (Vse-Ukrains'ka Bibliohrafichna Narada) (Kiev, 7–9 June 1931); the third (in Moscow, 27–31 December 1931), at a conference organized by the Scholarly Research Institute of the Union of State Publishing Houses (Ob'edinenie gosudarstvennykh izdatel'stv, OGIz); and the fourth, in 1936, at the Ukrainian Bibliographical Conference.<sup>8</sup>

### His Writings

The years that coincided with Dovhan's greatest activity were marked by two recurrent themes: first, the attempt of government ideologues to bring the hitherto 'quiet' discipline of book studies into the ongoing reconstruction of the Soviet humanities and social sciences; second, the struggle of the central Soviet government against the assertion of any form of a centrifugal Ukrainian national culture.<sup>9</sup> Consonant with the prevailing tenor of these times, Dovhan reiterated several themes in his work: first, that anything which tended to mask or defer class warfare was heinous; second, that the all-encompassing Soviet societal revolution required that ideas and 'the book' be made

<sup>8</sup> Among the participants and speakers at the Kiev Conference were: Pokhylevych (1897–?), Rozanov, Zolotar'ov, Liberberg, Kaniuk, Hodkevych, Mitel'man, Kozachenko (1900–1962), Voronov, Kerekez and Humenchuk. It is possible that the only speakers to have survived the events of the 1930s and the War were Kozachenko and Pokhylevych. In 1934 Kozachenko moved to Moscow.

According to Nemirovskii, the conference on book studies sponsored by OGIz heard a paper by Dovhan entitled 'Polozhenie na knigovedcheskom fronte i klassovaia bor'ba na Ukraine', in *Rezoliutsiia soveshchaniia po knigovedeniiu* (Moscow, 1932), and a presentation by Iu. M. Bochkarov. At one point in his text, as an additional argument for the need for ideological vigilance, Dovhan alludes to the possibility of a foreign military intervention in the Ukraine. *Do pytannia*, p. 33, footnote 21.

<sup>9</sup> For a sampling of this literature, see: G. Arkad'ev, 'Protiv izvrashcheniia marksizma-leninizma v knigovedenii (o robotakh A. G. Fomina)', *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* 6 (1932), pp. 51–4; M. Hodkevych, 'V nadiinykh shantsiakh', *Krytyka* 2 (1931), pp. 109–29, and 3 (1931), pp. 110–30; 'Institut knigi, dokumenta i pis'ma. Leningrad. Komissiiia po teorii knigovedeniia i istorii knigi. Rezoliutsiia po dokladu t. Novosadskogo "O diskussii na knigovedcheskom fronte i zadakh marksistsko-leninskoi teorii knigovedeniia"', *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* 12 (1931), pp. 12–13, and in expanded form in *Na knizhnom fronte* 11 (1931), pp. 1–16; Iakiv Kerekez, 'Proty Iefremovshchyny v istorii ukrains'koi knyhy (Z pryvodu knyzhky Iu. Mezhenka—Ukrains'ka knyha chasiv velykoi revoliutsii)', *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia* 8 (11–12) (1932), pp. 154–62; Ia. V. Kerekez, 'Bor'ba za marksistsko-leninskoe knigovedenie (o rabote Ukr. nauch. issled. in-ta knigovedeniia)', *Knizhnyi front* 12 (1933), p. 29; A. Kozachenko and V. Boiko, 'Proty "bezkliasovoi" natsionalistychnoi bibliohrafii', *Krytyka* 3 (1931), pp. 141–4; I. V. Novosadskii, 'Protiv burzhuaizmykh teorii v sovetskom knigovedenii', *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* 10 (1931), pp. 18–26; *Rezoliutsiia Soveshchaniia po knigovedeniiu 27–31 dekabria 1931 g.* (Moscow: Nauch.-issled. in-t poligr.-izd. prom-sti OGIza, 1932), 28 pp.; L. V. Rubinshtein, 'V plenu u burzhuaizmykh teoretikov. Antileninskie teorii knigovedeniia', *Zhurnal'ist* 2 (1932), pp. 9–12; A. S., 'Ob odnoi burzhuaiznoi teorii knigovedeniia (o robotakh M. I. Shchelgunova)', *Zhurnal'ist* 3 (1932), pp. 13–15; 'V bor'be za marksistsko-leninskoe knigovedenie (o rabote UNIKA)', *Na knizhnom fronte* 12 (1931), pp. 29–31; and Mykhailo Zolotar'ov, 'U nastup na burzhuaizne knyhoznavstvo', *Radians'kyi knyhar* 6 (1931), pp. 25–7.



serviceable in practical work; and finally, that book studies must be drawn into the very vortex of the 'new society'. Dovhan defended these main theses in the early chapters of his only book, *Do pytannia pro sotsiial'nu funktsiiu knyhy* (*On the Question of the Social Function of the Book*) (Kharkiv and Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Proletar, 1931, 103 pp.).

Dovhan's prose is astringent, highly polemical and provocative. Hear, for example, the clarion call to his fellow Marxist bookmen:

And so we are faced with pressing tasks—constructive tasks: to educate intensively Marxist book-study cadres; and destructive tasks: to launch a decisive assault on enemy positions, to rout overtly anti-Marxist concepts, to expose the futility of those eclectic systems that profess 'loyalty' to Marxist methodology and what is more—and this is even more dangerous—deck themselves with Marxist phraseology, thereby masking their idealist essence. (DP, p. 41)

Taking his lead from the work of N. M. Lisovskii<sup>10</sup> and other bookmen of the teens and twenties, Dovhan carefully differentiates between book studies and individual disciplines—such as librarianship and bibliography—in the book studies cycle. However, he tortuously defines book studies as a discipline which identifies

the general laws of the development of class society and class ideology in the *specifics* [emphasis mine, E.K.] of the book process, because such laws exist only in the sphere of society ... there are no 'immanent' laws of the book which are juxtaposed to class laws. (DP, pp. 68–9)

Dovhan continues by saying: 'book studies must study the genesis and function of the book as an instrument of social communication, the characteristics of which ... we have just attempted to define' (DP, *ibid.*).

Despite the self-assured tone of Dovhan's axioms, he repeatedly (and justifiably) asserts that Soviet *Marxist* book studies are still in their infancy.

Dovhan severely criticized the 'eclecticism' of his 'idealist' opponents, but he too was very eclectic in creating his own system of book studies and

<sup>10</sup> As an indication of how far the politicization of book studies had gone, one should note Lisovskii's classic definition of bibliography and book studies, or *knigovedenie*, as presented in a lecture on 28 September 1913, entitled 'Knigovedenie kak predmet prepodavaniia, ego sushchnost' i zadachi':

A scholarly discipline which unites technical, practical and theoretical knowledge relating to books as such in their past and present and having as its goal the study of the development, spread and use of printed works and press. An explanation of the causes and results of the quantitative composition of these works in various circumstances.

In this famous lecture, he was to view bibliography as *only part of* the book studies cycle. (Quoted in an article by E. Kasinec, 'N. M. Lisovskii', *Libri: International Library Review* 38 (2), pp. 147–56.) Dovhan's chief, Iurii Mezhenko, was a student of Lisovskii.



particularly in trying to trace its pre-history. His writings are indebted *inter alia* to his Ukrainian colleagues Hodkevych, director of the All-Union Book Chamber, the literary critic H. F. Ovcharov (1904–?), the Soviet Ukrainian bibliographer Ivanushkin and his Soviet Russian colleagues L. N. Tropovskii (1885–1944) and Ia. P. Grebenshchikov.<sup>11</sup>

However, the single most important influence on Dovhan's periodization of the history of book studies was the work of the minor Soviet Ukrainian bookman Iakov V. Rivlin (1875–?). Cautiously following Rivlin's periodization, Dovhan asserts that individual classes developed distinct attitudes towards the book. According to Dovhan, the feudal class, for example, personified by the Russian bibliographer and bibliophile Sergei R. Mintslov (1870–1933), developed a bibliophilic attitude towards the book; the attitude of the bourgeoisie, exemplified by the work of V. P. Semennikov (1885–1936), N. A. Rubakin (1862–1946), K. N. Derunov (1866–1929), A. M. Loviagin (1870–1925) and others, was practical or semi-utilitarian;<sup>12</sup> finally, the nascent proletarian class developed a social or pedagogical view of the role of the book in society.

Dovhan displays an enviable command of both pre-Revolutionary and Soviet scholarship on the history of the book and bibliography. The works of I. V. Vladislavlev (1880–1962) (pseudonym of Gul'binskii), L. B. Khavkina (1871–1949), E. I. Shamurin (1889–1962), D. V. Ulianinskii (1861–1918), N. V. Zdobnov (1888–1942), M. I. Shchelkunov (1884–1938), N. F. Ianitskyi, N. M. Somov (1867–1951), A. G. Fomin (1887–1939), M. N. Ivanchenko, and, most importantly, Balyka, are thoroughly reviewed and on occasion criticized for their eclecticism and methodological inconsistencies.<sup>13</sup>

The fourth and fifth chapters of *Do pytannia* are devoted to the construction of a heuristic model for analysing the role of the book in Soviet society. Implicit in Dovhan's analysis is the assumption that the book can and should change society, and that it should serve as a critical means of social communication. He commends those Soviet Ukrainian bookmen—Balyka and Ivanushkin to name but two—who assigned an important role to the book in re-educating old, non-communist revolutionary cadres and in shaping the

<sup>11</sup> For a bibliography of Tropovskii's works, see L. S. Mandel'shtam, 'Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' trudov L. N. Tropovskogo i otzyvov o nikh', *L. N. Tropovskii* (Moscow, 1948), pp. 63–70; and entry 167 in George S. N. Luckyj, *Keeping a Record. Literary Purges in Soviet Ukraine (1930s): A Bio-Bibliography* (Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> Other figures which he mentions are M. Lebedev, V. P. Rodnikov, A. P. Nechaev, and the prominent Socialist-Revolutionary writer S. Maslovskii (1876–1943) (the literary pseudonym of S. D. Mstislavskii).

<sup>13</sup> On Balyka see the rare *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' rabot Prof. D. Balyka opublikovannykh im v 1912–1942 gg.* (Gorky, 1942), 52 pp. (a publication of the Gorky Oblast Library, not seen by E.K.).



new specialists of proletarian background who had developed during the 1920s.<sup>14</sup> In Dovhan's view, all aspects of the book studies *problematika*—bibliopsychology, biblioeconomy and bibliopedagogy—are to be considered part of a single, monolithic book studies discipline which should be informed by an overarching Marxist–Leninist interpretation of reality. True to the period, in which planning was a dominant political slogan, Dovhan also attempted to subject to a plan those areas of book culture—publishing, librarianship and bibliography—which had seen real and palpable attainments in the Soviet Ukraine. In discussing the physical construction and make-up of the book, for example, he argues for greater regularization of standards in the use of graphics in book design, to make for a more efficient and economical process. He contends that the 'social' function of literature is integrally connected with study of the reader. In a number of articles devoted to the problems of bibliopedagogy and bibliopsychology, he maintained that a literary analysis of a book which was circulated and read must logically involve a study of its readers. Authors and librarians too should be sensitive to the needs of potential readers. If they are not, the resulting absence of a 'social' function and utility in literature will cause an excessive stock of unread books to accumulate in libraries and bookstores. Dovhan argues that research libraries are the most important places in which to conduct research on readers, and he most especially praises the activities of the librarian N. Ia. Frid'eva.<sup>15</sup>

As a summary of his views on the inter-relationship of the various aspects of the book studies complex, Dovhan prepared a chart for the conclusion of his work (see Appendix). He ended *Do pytannia* with the following statement:

As we have already indicated, there should evolve on the basis of practical experience in various dimensions of the educational aspect of book work

<sup>14</sup> These chapters contain an extensive discussion of disparate issues in book studies, as well as criticism of the ideas of pre-Revolutionary bookmen like Rubakin and his Soviet followers Boris O. Borovich (Finkel'shtein) (1884–1943) and Balyka. In Chapter Five of *Do pytannia*, Dovhan gives terse definitions of issues in book studies: for example, *bibliopolitika* (bibliopolitics), an activity, according to Dovhan, encountered in applying book studies to social practice (p. 92). He further argues that control of this process must take place in coordination and synchronically with the social context of the theoretical reader. The goal of bibliopedagogy consists in actively bringing the reader and book closer together, and also involves projecting the social equivalent of the book on the 'psycho-ideology' of the reader, the rational selection of books and their rational use. (*DP*, p. 100.) Some Western scholars have become interested in early Soviet readership studies and in book design. See, for example, Jeffrey Brooks, 'Studies of the Reader in the 1920s', *Russian History* 9, pts. 2–3 (1982), pp. 187–202; and Christina Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven: Yale University, 1983).

<sup>15</sup> Although little is known of her personal and professional background, N. Frid'eva left a substantial legacy as a contributor to numerous book and library studies over some three decades of activity, including 'Sovremennye zadachi spravocnoi raboty', *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* 12 (1930), pp. 18–20; 'O podgotovke kadrov v biblioteknykh institutakh', *Bibliotekar'* 9 (1948), pp. 25–30; and 'K voprosu o tsentralizatsii kataloga', *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* 1 (1926), pp. 53–6.



and of book practice in general, a concrete system of book-socio-psychological norms, which should govern the process of the making of the book in all its elements—the character of its composition, its syntactical lexical composition, the organization of a page, etc.—all of which are designed to perform a concrete socio-educational task with respect to a concrete class-typical reader in concrete socio-historical circumstances. (DP, p. 100)

These insights represent the more positive contribution of Dovhan's 1931 book. The darker side, in retrospect, was an area to which he himself alluded twice in his work, though he carefully avoided dealing with the specifics. This was the issue of the exact means through which proletarian control was to be exercised in Soviet Ukrainian book culture. In his text, Dovhan suggests several ways, namely: by removing politically 'odious' books from the shelves, by reviewing the contents of libraries, and by the use of recommendatory (i.e. non-objective or non-fully representational) bibliography. By 1936, some of these initial suggestions were to become more explicit and Dovhan was to advocate the use of the *systematic* (as opposed to alphabetical or subject) card catalogue as a vehicle for displaying the 'class' and 'political' essence of the materials held by a library. Long after him this continued to be the favoured type of public library catalogue in the Soviet Union. He also objected to Mezhenko's alleged use of the Soviet library classification system to 'cutter' the Ukraine separately from the Russian Republic.

### His End

Dovhan's presentation in 1936 was probably his last public appearance. It may, in fact, have signalled not only the end of his career as a researcher, but the end of his life as well. He may well have shared the fate of many ardent and sincere Marxists who took extreme positions during the early thirties.<sup>16</sup>

Dovhan was the first Ukrainian bookman—the first Soviet bookman for that matter—to present an original, Marxist–Leninist synthesis dealing with the historiography, periodization and activist role of the book and book studies in Soviet society. While he rejected the work of his mentors among the old cadres of Ukrainian and Russian bookmen, his *Do pytannia* would have been impossible without their previous example. Some of his insights, suggestions and heuristic principles represented a positive contribution to the literature of book studies. Dovhan's intellectual and personal tragedy lay in

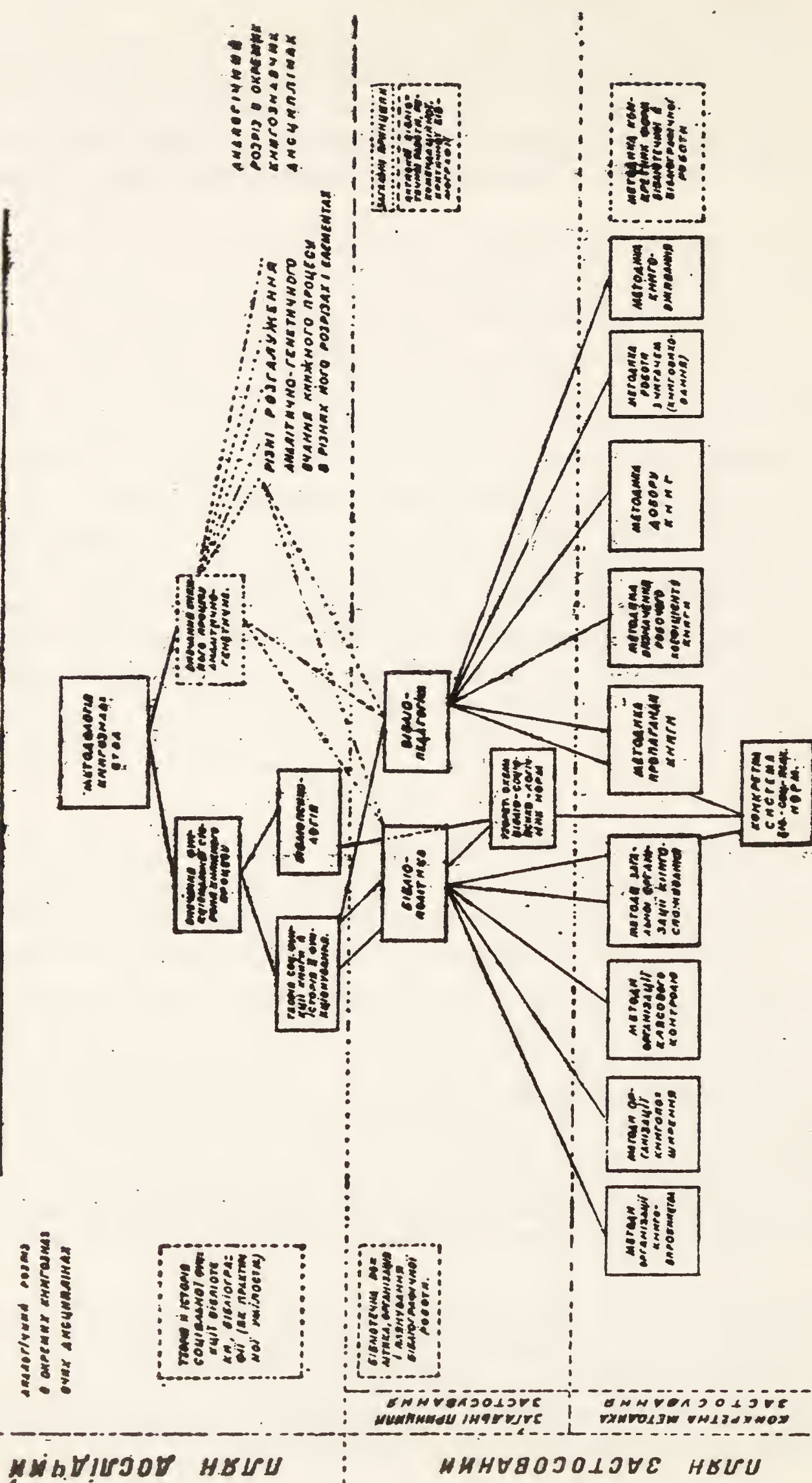
<sup>16</sup> On these developments, see the work by Boris Korsch, *The Permanent Purge of Soviet Libraries*, The Soviet and East European Research Centre, *Research Paper*, No. 50 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, April 1983). Of course, some of these individuals survived to be rehabilitated, among them Ivan Mykytenko (1897–1937) and Ivan Kulyk (1897–1937). It is possible that in retrospect some of Dovhan's views are seen to be so extreme that present-day Soviet bookmen, too, find them unpalatable. Another possibility is that he left no survivors to serve as advocates for his rehabilitation.



the fact that the principles which he had striven to adumbrate in the early thirties had, by the end of that decade, calcified into a system which used the principles of book studies not to strengthen but to circumscribe the role and accessibility of the printed word. Personally rejected by both his mentors and his epigones, the least constructive elements in Dovhan's *oeuvre* were used for the final rebuilding of Ukrainian book studies into Soviet Ukrainian book studies.



МЕТОДОЛОГІЧНА СХЕМА ПРОБЛЕМИ СОЦІАЛЬНОЇ ФУНКЦІЇ КНИГИ





## PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS IN BOOK STUDIES BY DOVHAN

(in chronological order)

## I. PUBLISHED WORKS

- 'Cherhova problema (Narysy pro chytacha)', *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia* 2-3 (1926), pp. 73-82.
- 'Kabinet vyvchanyia knyhy i chytacha pry UNIK'u', *Bibliolohichnye visty* 3 (1926), p. 83.
- 'Na odnoi iz dilianok kul'turnoho fronta', *Kul'tura i pobut* (supplement to *Visty Vseukrains'koho tsentral'nogo vykonavchoho komiteta*), No. 40 (1926).
- 'Sotsial'na funktsiia literatury i problema chytacha', *Krytyka* 7-8 (1928), pp. [3-56].
- Review: 'M. F. Ianovskii, *O knige. Opyt analiza poniatia "Kniga"*. S predisloviam Prof. S. I. Maslova. Kiev: Kul'tura, 1929. 188 stor. Tsina 1 krb.', *Krytyka* 2 (1929), pp. 128-32.
- 'Materialy do vseukrains'koho obslidovania bibliotek', in *Biblioteka i chytach na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1930).
- 'Za marksyts'ke knyhoznnavstvo', *Krytyka* 7-8 (30-31) (1930), pp. 20-47. (Republished in *Do pytannia*.)
- Review: 'Al'manakh sovremennoi ukrains'koi literatury. Pod redaktsiei I. Postupal'skogo. Vstupitel'naia stat'ia A. Belet'skogo. Leningrad: Izdanie "Krasnoi gazety", 1930. (Prilozhenie k zhurnalu *Stroika*.) 203 stor. Tir. 20,000. Tsina ne zaznachena', *Krytyka* 9 (32) (1930), pp. 140-3.
- 'Zhertva pedahohichnoi samozhertovnosti, abo B. O. Borovych v svitli problemy chytacha', *Krytyka* 11 (35) (1930), pp. 36-46. A review of Borovych's 'Pys'mennyk-krytyk-chytach' published in *Zhurnal bibliotekoznavstva ta bibliohrafii* 4 (12-30) (1930), where Dovhan argues that Borovych is opposed to literary criticism and evaluation, an objectivist, and inimical to the activist role of the proletariat.
- 'Vorozhnyi reid. Pro movu i literaturoznavchi prohramy NKO dlia institutiv sotsvykhu', *Krytyka* 1 (36) (1931), pp. [3]-24. A critical review of the apolitical nature of *Prohramy—materialy dlia institutiv sotsvykhovannia*, Vyp. III, VI (Kharkiv: Narodnyi uchytel', 1930) (NKO, Naukmetodsektor).
- 'Pidvesty pid knyhoproshyrenyi marksysts'ko-lenins'ku teoretychnu bazu', *Radians'kyi knyhar* 10-11 (15 April 1931).
- 'Lyst do redaktsii', *Krytyka* 4 (40) (1931), p. 125. Corrects a statement in 'Pidvesty'. (Dated V. 15, 1931.)
- 'Kliasova borot'ba na knyhoznnavcho-bibliohrafichnomu fronti', *Krytyka* 7-8 (42-43) (1931), pp. 46-86.
- Kliasova borot'ba v knyhoznnavstvi. Stenograma Zasidannia K.T.V.M-D 29 travnia-cherwnia 1931 roku* (Kiev: UNIK, 1932), 85 pp. (available at Lenin State Library Ukr. 136/131). Based on talks given on 7 June 1931 at the All-Union Bibliographical Conference and on 29 June 1931 at the Chair of Literary Studies.
- 'Proty eklektiki ta revizionizmu v knihoznnavstvi, za bol'shevits'ke pereozbroeniia' (Kiev, 1932). As cited in E. L. Nemirovskii, 'Istoriografiia sovetskoi knigi', *Kniga* 35 (1977), p. 124, footnote 39; see also below under UNPUBLISHED, second item in the first citation.
- 'Na vysochin zavdan druhoji p'iatyrichky', in *Proty burzhuaiznykh teorii v knyhoznnavstvi*, Naukovi zapysky, 1 (Kiev: UNIK, 1933), pp. 1-22.



'Za bol'shevistskii bibliotechnyi katalog', *Krasnyi bibliotekar'* 8 (1936), pp. 23-[36]. A stenogram of his talk at the Ukrainian Library Congress.

## II. UNPUBLISHED WORKS

In the State Public Library, Leningrad, Manuscript Division, archive of the Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut knigovedeniia:

Ed. 229. 'Polozhenie knigovedcheskogo fronta i klassovaia bor'ba na Ukraine'. (This unit does not contain the above title but only two resolutions concerning the title, presumably discussed at a conference on book studies which took place at the Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut poligraficheskoi i izdatel'skoi promyshlennosti on 31 December 1931.)

Ed. 316. 'Protiv eklektiki i revizionizma v knigovedenii, za bol'shevistskoe perevooruzhenie'. Per. s ukr. L. Hrushko. Predisl. M. Zaval'nogo. 1932 g. Kiev. Mashinop. kopiia. (This item includes a note from P. I. Boldin to I. I. (Kuleshov?) concerning the translation of Dovhan's work, with conclusions by the latter. Total of 67 sheets.)

Ed. 330. 'A. G. Fomin. Knigovedenie kak nauka. Istoriia i bibliotekovedeniia pri gosudarstvennoi publ. b-ke'. 115 pp. Mashinop. kopiia. 10 sheets. (A review of Fomin's work by Dovhan written in 1932 (?).)

*Za marksistsko-leninskoe knigovedenie*. To have been published by Sotsekgiz, as reported in *Knigovedenie: katalog knig* (Moscow: Ogiz-Redizabiuro, 1932), p. 5.



# A Neglected Source: The Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications since 1917

Mark Kulikowski

The Russian Revolution of 1917 and the resulting civil war precipitated one of the largest mass migrations in contemporary history. It has been estimated that over one million persons fled the former Russian Empire in the years immediately following the First World War. Many sought refuge in Western Europe, in the newly created states of Eastern Europe, and in the Middle and Far East. These emigrés were a mixed lot. Their social origins and political persuasions mirrored the complexity of Russian life in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> Although they came from a variety of occupations and backgrounds, Russian emigrés had in common their memories of past events and the reality of adapting to life outside their homeland. Both influenced the development of Russian publications abroad. In varying degrees, all those who left Russia had witnessed the massive changes that had occurred in that country. Now, having left their homeland, they sought to record and share their memories, and in doing so brought into being an important phase in the publishing life of Russians living abroad.<sup>2</sup> Not only memories were needed by

<sup>1</sup> The exact number of Russians who left their homeland during the period 1917–1922 is unknown. Estimates, based on various sources, range from one million (John Hope Simpson, *The Refugee Problem. Report of a Survey* (Oxford, 1939), p. 62), two and a half million (Ernst Drahn, 'Russische Emigration. Eine kulturstatistische Studie', *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 89 (1930), p. 126), to nearly three million (H. von Rimscha, *Der russische Bürgerkrieg und die russische Emigration, 1917–1921* (Jena, 1924), pp. 50–1, cited in Simpson, p. 80). Eugene Kulischer, after considering the data, put the figure at one and a half million (*Europe on the Move. War and Population Changes, 1917–1947* (New York, 1948), p. 56). See also Michael Stowell's unpublished paper 'Russian Emigré Colonies in China: A Bibliographic Essay', pp. 1, 12.

<sup>2</sup> This is not to suggest that the Russian press abroad before 1917 was unimportant or insignificant. The Russian press in the United States, for example, published a wide variety of material for Russian immigrants and their descendants. Unfortunately, as in the case of many other ethnic groups in America, the Russian immigrant press has been largely ignored by scholars. Few studies exist; among them are Robert A. Karlowich, 'The Russian-Language Periodical Press in New York City from 1889 to 1914' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1981); J. M. Evans, *Guide to the Amerikansky Russky Viestnik*, vol. 1: 1894–1914 (Fairview, NJ, 1979); and G. Lozinskii, 'Russkaia pechat' v Aliaske i dlia Aliaski', *Vremennik Obshchestva družei russkoi knigi* 4 (1938), pp. 231–51. Other studies include: V. Bogucharskii, 'Zarubezhnye russkie periodicheskie izdaniia i sborniki 50-kh i 60-kh godov', *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, 1906, no. 2, pp. 157–96; V. G. Ivask, 'Zarubezhnaia russkaia povremennaia pechat', *Bibliograficheskaia izvestiia*, 1917, nos. 3–4, pp. 97–118; T. Ossorguine, et al., 'Périodiques en langue russe publiés en Europe de 1855 à 1917', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 1970, no. 4, pp. 629–709; S. I. Rapoport, 'Spisok periodicheskikh izdanii vyshedshikh v Anglii na russkom iazyke, nachinaia s 1855 g.', *Slavianskaia kniga*, 1926, no. 12, pp. 318–23; and V. Gilbert and J. Slatter, 'Russian Political Emigrants in Britain, 1850–1917: A Bibliography',



the Russian emigré community, however. Their new life abroad necessitated many kinds of publications—newspapers, magazines, works of literature and poetry, scholarly, religious and educational publications, guides and self-help manuals—all aimed at some segment of the emigré community. From 1918 Russian emigré publications began to appear in ever growing numbers.<sup>3</sup> They are a unique source not only for those interested in Russian history and culture but also for the study of migration, ethnicity and assimilation.

Despite the outpouring of publications, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, the Russian emigré press was largely ignored by the Western scholars of the period. While it is true that works of prominent people like Miliukov, Dan, Merezhkovskii, Berdiaev, and journals like *Arkhiv russkoi revoliutsii* and *Sovremennye zapiski* were utilized by scholars, much of the emigré press went unnoticed. The reasons for this are not totally clear. Scholarly indifference may have in part rested on the view that emigrés, representing 'Old Russia', were no longer important. With the defeat of the Whites, scholarly attention was drawn to the new Soviet state. The political positions taken by the emigré community no longer seemed viable, and scholarly interest waned. As Robert C. Williams noted, 'Historians generally dislike lost causes.'<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps another reason for the lack of interest in Russian emigré publications was the lack of adequate bibliographic control. A great deal was being published in many countries, yet knowledge of and access to many publications was lacking. Also, library resources for Slavic studies were in many countries still in their infancy.<sup>5</sup> These factors could easily have turned Western scholars away from the subject, which, during the 1920s and 1930s, could be seen as having only marginal importance.

The Second World War further clouded the bibliographic picture. Many emigré publications ceased to appear and some collections of these materials

*Immigrants and Minorities* 2 (1983), no. 3, pp. 157–68. This work is reprinted in J. Slatter (ed.), *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain, 1880–1917* (London, 1984), pp. 157–68. Soviet studies include: V. M. Anderson (ed.), *Vol'naia russkaia pechat' v Rossiiskoi Publichnoi Biblioteke* (Petrograd, 1920); L. Kamenev (ed.), *Russkaia politicheskaia literatura za granitse* (Moscow, 1922); B. P. Birman et al. (eds.), *Sotsial-demokraticheskie listovki 1894–1917 gg.: bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (Moscow, 1931–34); M. M. Klevenskii et al. (comps.), *Russkaia podpol'naia i zarubezhnaia pechat': bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* (Moscow, 1935); L. E. Tatarinova, *Russkaia bestsenzurnaia pressa 50–60-kh gg. XIX v.: izd. Vol'noi Russkoi tipografii v Londone* (Moscow, 1983); and T. M. Kirichenko, *Russkaia demokraticheskaia zarubezhnaia pechat' kak istoricheskii istochnik (Vtoraia polovina 90-kh gg. XIX v.–nachalo XX v.)* (Moscow, 1984).

<sup>3</sup> See Hans-Erich Volkmann, *Die Russische Emigration in Deutschland 1919–1929* (Würzburg, 1966), Tables 1–5.

<sup>4</sup> Robert C. Williams, *Culture in Exile. Russian Emigrés in Germany, 1881–1941* (Ithaca, 1972), p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> For two recent studies see William Bentinck-Smith, *Building a Great Library: The Coolidge Years at Harvard* (Cambridge, 1976), and Wojciech Zalewski, *Collectors and Collections of Slavica at Stanford University. A Contribution to the History of American Academic Libraries* (Stanford, 1985).



were lost or destroyed. Those publications that did appear were often issued in small numbers under poor conditions. Not surprisingly, during wartime bibliographic control was very difficult, if not impossible to attain. The same is true of the immediate postwar era, when various publications began to appear in camps for displaced persons. The often ephemeral nature of the publications lessened the chances that they would be considered seriously or systematically collected.

The postwar period has seen the continued publication of Russian emigré works in many parts of the world. Bibliographic efforts in regard to these works have been made, but gaps in coverage still exist. A somewhat rosier bibliographic picture exists for the publications of the latest group of Russian emigrés, the so-called 'third wave', although more work is needed.

Despite the many problems involved, the bibliography of emigré publications was considered important by the Russian community abroad.<sup>6</sup> Within a short time after leaving Russia, they began (with varying degrees of success) to publish bibliographies of their works. Later, non-emigrés began compiling bibliographies as well. This bibliographic work will be the subject of this article. The goal will be to survey these works in order to make them more widely known to a scholarly audience. In doing so, it is hoped that more attention will be paid to these significant, though rather neglected, sources.

### **Universal Bibliography**

The only real attempt at a comprehensive listing of all Russian emigré publications for a given period was *Russkaia zarubezhnaia kniga*.<sup>7</sup> Published by the Komitet russkoi knigi of Prague, it was an attempt to list all books and periodical publications of Russians living abroad for the period 1918–1924. The work was issued in two parts. The first is a collection of review articles on emigré publications in philosophy, political economy, law, history, literature, and so on. The second part is the bibliography proper. The bibliography is divided by subject, with an alphabetical listing of books by author. Pertinent journals are listed alphabetically after the books. The bibliography is not annotated, and the information provided is limited to author, title, place and year of publication, and pagination. The work covers some 3,666 books and 611 periodicals.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see M. Z. Vinokurov, *Eto nuzhno sdelat'! (K voprosu o bibliograficheskoi registratsii vsekh russkikh izdaniĭ, napechatannykh v Amerike i k sostavleniiu biobibliograficheskogo slovaria russkikh pisatelei i uchenykh zhivushchikh v nei)* (Philadelphia, 1928).

<sup>7</sup> S. P. Pistnikov (ed.), *Russkaia zarubezhnaia kniga*, Trudy Komiteta russkoi knigi, vyp. 1 (Prague, 1924).



### Bibliography of Books

There have been several attempts to deal with books published by the Russian emigré community. The first, *Katalog knig, vyshedshikh vne Rossii*,<sup>8</sup> was published in 1924. As the title indicates, it is a catalogue rather than a bibliography. The information it contains is useful, but is limited to author, title, place of publication, and price. As such, its value as a research tool is rather limited. Of lesser scope, but nonetheless important, is L. Loewenson's article, 'Russisches Schrifttum im Ausland (1926–1928)'.<sup>9</sup> This work deals solely with books and is divided into sections—Politik, Wirtschaft, Geistiges Leben, and Verschiedenes. Each section lists the books alphabetically by author, followed by the title, German translation of the title, place and year of publication, publisher, pagination, and series.

The second work dealing with books is *Russian Publications in Israel*, compiled by Zvi Ofer and Israel Rudnitski.<sup>10</sup> The work is based on 'data found in *Kiryat Sefer*, the bibliographic organ of the National Library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in catalogues of various publishing bodies and of individual books available in bookstores'.<sup>11</sup> It covers 525 books, pamphlets and periodicals from the period 1953–1979, with the majority from the period following 1970. The work is divided into twelve sections, with items listed alphabetically by author in each section. In most cases, the information on individual items is limited to author, title, place and year of publication, publisher and pagination. The section on periodicals also indicates those which have ceased publication. A list of abbreviations and major publishing institutions is also included.

It is important to note that the compilers consider their work to be 'not exhaustive and ... not a bibliographic list made up in accordance with scientific norms'.<sup>12</sup> The work lacks indexes, and the need for publishing a list of translated Russian titles is questionable. Nevertheless the work does provide coverage of contemporary emigré publishing and it is hoped that further editions will be forthcoming.

The latest work on the topic is David Arans's *Review of Russian Emigré Books*.<sup>13</sup> This bibliography, planned as an annual supplement to the *Abstracts*

<sup>8</sup> M. P. Kadish and V. Gol'denberg (comps.), *Katalog knig, vyshedshikh vne Rossii. Po iium' 1924 goda* (Berlin, 1924).

<sup>9</sup> Leo Loewenson, 'Russisches Schrifttum im Ausland (1926–1928)', *Osteuropa* 4 (1928–29), pp. 526–34, 617–18, 710–13, 797–802, 869–75; 5 (1929–30), pp. 74–7, 149–53.

<sup>10</sup> Zvi Ofer and Israel Rudnitski (comps.), *Russian Publications in Israel. List of Books, Pamphlets and Periodicals Published in Russian in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1979). The preface (p. 5) indicates that a Russian version of the list is being published.

<sup>11</sup> Ofer and Rudnitski, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Ofer and Rudnitski, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> David Arans, *Review of Russian Emigré Books, No. 1. Annual Supplement to Abstracts of Soviet and East European Emigré Periodical Literature* (n.p., 1984).



of *Soviet and East European Emigré Periodical Literature* (see below), deals with 346 books published during the period 1981–1983. The books are divided by subject, and are annotated. The lack of indexes and continuous numbering of entries detract from this important work. Future issues, it is hoped, will address these problems. As this work is well done and is virtually alone in covering the books of the ‘third wave’ it deserves a wide audience.

### Specialized Bibliographies

Most of the work done on Russian emigré bibliography is in the field of specialized studies. These works normally draw their materials from both books and periodicals, and have dealt with such topics as general scholarly publications, religious studies, the Russian Revolution and Civil War, military studies, literature, and poetry.

The first of these, general scholarly publications, is covered in *Materialy dlia bibliografii russkikh nauchnykh trudov za rubezhom*.<sup>14</sup> This work was published in two volumes by the Russkii nauchnyi institut in Belgrade. The bibliography is arranged alphabetically by author with brief biographical information included. Works by each author follow in chronological order. Both books and periodical articles in a variety of languages are covered. The work also contains an author index. A total of 811 authors and 13,371 items are listed. The bibliography, while impressive, is greatly weakened by the lack of a subject index.

Religious studies have been the subject of three bibliographies. The first of these, by N. Zernov, deals with theology, Church history, sociology, and literature.<sup>15</sup> The work provides a listing of authors in alphabetical order, followed by brief biographical data, and a listing of their publications. Of far greater value is another work by the same author entitled *Russian Emigré Authors*.<sup>16</sup> This bibliography deals with theology, religious philosophy, Church history, and Orthodox culture, for the period 1921–1972. The arrangement is the same as in Zernov’s earlier work. The bibliography is limited to books, but a list of the major religious journals and collections, providing information on title, editor, place and years of publication, and frequency, is appended.

A somewhat narrower topic is dealt with in the *List of the Writings of*

<sup>14</sup> *Materialy dlia bibliografii russkikh nauchnykh trudov za rubezhom* (Russkii nauchnyi institut, Belgrad, 1931–1941). Reprint, Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, Mouton, no. 236.

<sup>15</sup> Nikolai M. Zernov, ‘Bio-bibliografiia russkikh zarubezhnykh bogoslovov, tserkovnykh istorikov, sotsiologov i literaturovedov’, in P. Sorokin (ed.), *Na temy russkie i obshchie: sbornik statei i materialov v chest' prof. N. S. Timasheva* (New York, 1965), pp. 357–71.

<sup>16</sup> Nikolai M. Zernov, *Russian Emigré Authors: A Biographical Index and Bibliography of their Works on Theology, Religious Philosophy, Church History, and Orthodox Culture, 1921–1972* (Boston, 1973).



*Professors of the Russian Theological Institute in Paris*,<sup>17</sup> edited by L. A. Zander. The work covers the publications of N. Afanas'ev, S. Bulgakov, G. P. Fedotov, G. Florovsky, V. N. Il'in, A. V. Kartashev, B. P. Kassian, Archimandrite Kiprian, A. Kniazeff, P. Kovalevskii, J. Meyendorff, K. V. Mochul'skii, A. Shmemann, B. I. Sove, T. G. Spasskii, S. S. Verkhovskii, B. P. Vysheslavtsev, V. V. Veidle, L. A. Zander, and S. Zen'kovskii. It is arranged by author with all works (books and articles), regardless of language, listed in English. This makes using the work difficult, as the entries must be translated back into the original language in order to be fully understood. Although primarily religious in character, it also lists the authors' non-religious works. The lack of indexes hampers its effectiveness as a research tool.

There have been several attempts to deal with emigré publications related to the Russian Revolution and the Civil War. The first is the typewritten bibliography by N. N. Golovin entitled *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' knig, vyshedshikh na russkom iazyke po istorii voiny 1914–1918 gg. na russkom fronte, russkoi revoliutsii, grazhdanskoi voiny i russkago kontr-revoliutsionnago dvizheniia*.<sup>18</sup> It lists 412 books on these topics, but is greatly hampered by the lack of indexes.

The second is David Arans's recent *How We Lost the Civil War: Bibliography of Russian Emigré Memoirs on the Russian Revolution, 1917–1921*.<sup>19</sup> The bibliography lists some 559 items, and focuses primarily on books. It is organized by topic, with each section arranged alphabetically by author. Each entry is annotated, and the work contains a very useful personal name, subject, and place index.

A general work on the Russian military press abroad has been compiled by A. Gering.<sup>20</sup> The compiler points out that this work is not strictly a bibliography, 'but simply a collection which may help the future Russian military historian interested in the lives of Russian military men abroad'.<sup>21</sup> Gering, nonetheless, has produced a useful reference tool. It is divided into sections dealing with military and naval books, military and naval periodicals (including Cossack publications), and a literary series dealing with military

<sup>17</sup> L. A. Zander (ed.), *List of the Writings of Professors of the Russian Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris, 1925–1954* (Institut de théologie orthodoxe, Paris, 1954).

<sup>18</sup> N. N. Golovin, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' knig, vyshedshikh na russkom iazyke po istorii voiny 1914–1918 gg. na russkom fronte, russkoi revoliutsii, grazhdanskoi voiny i russkago kontr-revoliutsionnago dvizheniia* (Paris, n.d.). This typescript work exists at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

<sup>19</sup> David Arans, *How We Lost the Civil War: Bibliography of Russian Emigré Memoirs on the Russian Revolution, 1917–1921*, ORP Russian Bibliography Series, no. 6 (Newtonville, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> Aleskei Gering, *Materialy k bibliografii russkoi voennoi pechati za rubezhom*, Voennno-istoricheskaiia biblioteka 'Voennoi-byli', no. 19 (Paris, 1968).

<sup>21</sup> Gering, p. 7.



themes. Each section is organized alphabetically by author or title. The work does not deal with periodical articles, but provides descriptive annotations for the books and periodicals listed. The Golovin, Arans and Gering bibliographies overlap somewhat with the more general *Bibliografiia russkoi revoliutsii i grazhdanskoi voiny 1917–1921* (Prague, 1938) discussed below.

By far the most ambitious specialized bibliography is Ludmila Foster's *Bibliography of Russian Emigré Literature 1918–1968*.<sup>22</sup> This two-volume work is 'intended primarily for literary scholars, students, and critics as a reference book'.<sup>23</sup> It includes books, essays, memoirs, criticism, and reviews. It is organized alphabetically by author, and includes a list of earlier bibliographies dealing with the topic. The work does have its drawbacks. Among these are the practice of listing authors by pseudonym, and the large number of abbreviations and symbols used. These problems, however, are minor in comparison to the amount of work accomplished.

Russian emigré poetry is the subject of E. Shtein's *Poeziia russkogo rasseianiia 1920–1977*.<sup>24</sup> This bibliography deals only with books and is arranged alphabetically by author. A section on poetry almanacs, anthologies, and collections follows the main body of the work. Pertinent bibliographic information is provided for each item listed, including the contents of many of the volumes.

### Periodicals

Bibliographic work on Russian emigré periodicals falls into four categories: universal bibliography, specialized bibliography, abstracts, and indexes. Among the universal bibliographies, clearly the best is *Ukazatel' periodicheskikh izdaniĭ emigratsii iz Rossii i SSSR za 1919–1952 gg.*<sup>25</sup> This guide, published by the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich, deals not only with Russian periodicals, but Ukrainian, Belorussian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Georgian, Kalmyk, Tatar, and Turkish as well. Also included are periodicals published in Western European languages. The sections are divided by language, with periodicals listed alphabetically by title. Bibliographic information such as subtitle and place and years of publication are given. A country index is included. Although the information is limited, it largely supersedes the periodical listing in *Russkaia zarubezhnaia kniga*, discussed above. Of lesser scope, but informative, is P. Lee's *A Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications*.<sup>26</sup> This typescript publication lists some 163

<sup>22</sup> Ludmila A. Foster, *Bibliography of Russian Emigré Literature 1918–1968* (Boston, 1970).

<sup>23</sup> Foster, p. i.

<sup>24</sup> Emmanuil Shtein, *Poeziia russkogo rasseianiia 1920–1977* (Ashford, Ct., 1978).

<sup>25</sup> *Ukazatel' periodicheskikh izdaniĭ emigratsii iz Rossii i SSSR za 1919–1952 gg.*, Institut po izucheniiu istorii i kul'tury SSSR, Issledovaniia i materialy, no. 6 (Munich, 1953).

<sup>26</sup> Paul Lee, *A Bibliography of Russian Emigré Publications* (Washington, 1954).



periodicals. It deals primarily with post-World War II periodicals, and provides annotations and indication of editor/publisher and edition size. Cossack periodicals are included. More recent work in the field has been done by Michael Schatoff in his *Half a Century of Russian Serials 1917-1978*.<sup>27</sup> It deals with 'almanacs, annuals, bulletins, calendars, circulars, journals, magazines, newspapers, proceedings, registers and yearbooks which appear periodically, and lists over 3,000 items by title or issuing organization'.<sup>28</sup> Information such as publisher, editor, frequency, date of establishment, and so on is provided. Schatoff's work has been the subject of some interest, and at least two projects are under way to update it.<sup>29</sup>

Specialized work on Russian emigré periodicals has also been done. Russian periodicals in Europe have been dealt with in T. Ossorguine's *L'Émigration Russe en Europe: Catalogue collectif des périodiques en langue russe*.<sup>30</sup> The bibliography is in two volumes and covers the period 1855-1979. The periodicals are listed alphabetically by title. A list of European libraries holding these periodicals is included, as are title and personal name indexes.

A recent work of narrower scope deals with Canada. Entitled 'Newspapers and Magazines in the Russian Language in Canada from 1915 to 1981',<sup>31</sup> the work is an excerpt from R. Bogusis's *Checklist of Canadian Ethnic Serials* (Ottawa, 1981). It lists some fifty-one titles, and provides a variety of data for each item. The work is supplemented by a list of twenty-three periodicals by R. Polchaninoff drawn from Schatoff's *Half a Century*.<sup>32</sup>

Another specialized study focuses on the periodicals appearing in Harbin, China. M. S. Tiunin's *Ukazatel' periodicheskikh i povremennykh izdaniï*<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Michael Schatoff, *Half a Century of Russian Serials 1917-1968. Cumulative Index of Serials Published Outside the USSR* (New York, 1972). This work appeared earlier under the title 'Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' russkoi pechati za rubezhom', in the journal *Mosty*, nos. 3-8 (1959-1961), and in the *Annual Bibliographical Index* of the Russian Book Chamber Abroad, no. 1 (1961- ).

<sup>28</sup> Schatoff, p. vii.

<sup>29</sup> These are Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty (International Information Centre for Soviet and East European Studies) *International Newsletter* 15 (July 1982), p. 17, and R. Polchaninoff, *Letopis' russkikh zarubezhnykh periodicheskikh izdaniï* (New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1981).

<sup>30</sup> T. Ossorguine, *L'Émigration russe en Europe: Catalogue collectif des périodiques en langue russe*, vol. 1: 1855-1940; vol. 2: 1940-1979 (Paris, 1976-81).

<sup>31</sup> 'Newspapers and Magazines in the Russian Language in Canada from 1915 to 1981', in T. F. Jeletzky (ed.), *Russian Canadians. Their Past and Present (Collected Essays)* (Ottawa, 1983), pp. 187-97.

<sup>32</sup> R. Polchaninoff, 'A Supplement to the List of Russian Serials Published by R. Bogusis', in Jeletzky, pp. 199-201.

<sup>33</sup> M. S. Tiunin, *Ukazatel' periodicheskikh i povremennykh izdaniï, vykhodiushikh v g. Kharbine na russkom i drugikh evropeiskikh iazykakh po 1-e ianvaria 1927 g.*, Trudy Obshchestva izucheniia Man'chzhurskogo kraia: bibliografiia Man'chzhurii, vyp. 1 (Harbin, 1927). The second part of this work was entitled *Ukazatel' periodicheskoi pechati g. Kharbina, vykhodiushiei na russkom i dr. evropeiskikh iazykakh. Izdaniia, vyshedshie s 1 ianvaria 1927 goda po 31 dekabria 1935 goda* (Harbin, 1936).



provides statistical and bibliographic information on Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Georgian, Swedish, and Esperanto periodicals for the period 1918–1935. The work is divided by language, with an alphabetical listing. The amount of information provided is impressive, particularly for many of the short-lived publications. Lastly, Ofer and Rudnitski's *Russian Publications in Israel*, discussed above, deals with periodicals appearing in Israel.

The abstracting of emigré periodicals is a new development. The only one published is *Abstracts of Soviet and East European Emigré Periodical Literature*.<sup>34</sup> Published since 1981, it deals primarily with periodicals (newspapers and journals) of the 'third wave'. Volumes 1–5 (1981–1987) include annotations for 11,208 items. The annotations are brief and descriptive. Each issue is divided by subject. Subject and author indexes and cross-references make the work easy to use. Although the abstract includes East European emigré periodical literature, coverage of these journals is rather irregular. Each issue contains a list of periodicals abstracted.

The final category is that of periodical indexes. While many emigré journals included indexes in various issues, apparently only two had separately published indexes. The first was the journal *Grani*, published in Germany since 1946. The index covers the first hundred issues of the journal. It is arranged thematically, and includes an author index.<sup>35</sup> The second was the journal *Put'*, which was recently indexed by A. P. Obolenskii.<sup>36</sup> The work deals with the period 1925–1940, and includes author, subject, and review coverage.

### Newspapers

Guides to emigré newspapers are rather limited in scope. In 1921, the journal *Novaia Russkaia Kniga* began publishing lists of newspapers published outside the USSR.<sup>37</sup> These lists were divided by country, and provided the names and addresses of the editors. Many of the bibliographies of periodicals, discussed above, also deal with newspapers. More limited in scope, but providing more information, are the guides to the Harbin press by Tiunin, also discussed above. P. Miloslavskii studied the emigré press, but

<sup>34</sup> Leonid Khotin (ed.), *Abstracts of Soviet and East European Emigré Periodical Literature* (Pacific Grove, Calif., 1981– )

<sup>35</sup> A. N. Artemova, *Grani, zhurnal literatury, iskusstva, nauki i obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli: sodержanie zhurnala s No 1 po 100, 1946–1976, s prilozheniem sodержaniia vsekh samizdatovskikh zhurnalov i sbornikov, napechatannykh v 'Graniakh', imennogo ukazatalia avtorov i tematicheskogo ukazatalia* (Frankfurt am Main, 1977).

<sup>36</sup> A. P. Obolenskii, *Ukazatel' avtorov, predmetov, retsenzii k zhurnalu Put' (Parizh, 1925–1940)* (supplement to vol. 19 of *Zapiski Russkoi akademicheskoi gruppy v SSHA*) (New York, 1986).

<sup>37</sup> 'Russkii gazety za predelami Sovetskoi Rossii v 1920 g.', *Novaia Russkaia Kniga*, 1921, no. 1, pp. 36–9. Subsequent issues carried a continuation of this article.



limited his study to one year, 1925.<sup>38</sup> The only known indexes to newspapers were prepared in typescript by N. N. Golovin.<sup>39</sup> These unpublished indexes deal with material on the First World War, the Russian Revolution, the Civil War and the counter-revolutionary movement appearing in the newspapers *Chasovoi*, *Dni*, *Posledniia Novosti*, *Rossia i Slaviansstvo*, *Rul'*, *Russkii Golos*, *Russkii Invalid*, *Segodnia*, *Tsarskii Vestnik*, and *Vozrozhdenie*, during the period 1926–1935. Poor organization and the lack of author and subject indexes hamper the effectiveness of this work.

### Publishing Houses and Bookstores

Since the 1920s various emigré publishing houses and bookstores have issued catalogues and sometimes journals. Most of these publications were short-lived, and difficult to trace. Among these are: *Vestnik Russkogo knizhnogo rynka* ('Moskva' bookstore, Berlin, 1920s); *Ruskaia kniga zagranitse* (also by 'Moskva', 1924); *Russkoe knizhnoe delo 'Rodnik'* (Paris, 1920s); and *Russkii bibliofil* ('Victoire' bookstore, Paris, 1930s).<sup>40</sup>

Two major publishing houses have issued retrospective catalogues of their publications. These are the now defunct Chekhov Publishing House of New York, which issued a catalogue for 1952–1956,<sup>41</sup> and the Paris YMCA Press, whose catalogue covers the period 1921–1956.<sup>42</sup>

### Prominent Individuals

In recent years a number of bibliographies have been devoted to the works of prominent Russians living in the West. The Institut d'études slaves in Paris has published a bibliographic series dealing with the following people: M. Aldanov, N. Berdiaev, S. Frank, G. Gazdanov, Z. Gippius, N. Losskii, M. Osorgin, A. Remizov, L. Shestov, I. Shmelev, M. Tsvetaeva, and

<sup>38</sup> P. P. Miloslavskii, 'Letopis' russkoi zarubezhnoi periodicheskoi pechati: Gazety na russkom iazyke, vykhodivshie i vykhodiashchie za predelami SSSR v 1925 godu: po materialam russkogo zagranichnogo istorich. arkhiva', *Slavianskaia Kniga*, 1925, no. 9, pp. 171–4.

<sup>39</sup> N. N. Golovin, *Index of Newspaper Articles in Russian Dealing with the History of the World War, Russian Revolution, Civil and Polish Wars* (Paris, n.d.); *Ukazatel' statei, otnosiashchikhsia k istorii voiny 1914–1918 gg. na russkom fronte, russkoi revoliutsii, grazhdanskoi voiny i russkago kontr-revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia, poiavivshikhsia v emigrantskikh gazetakh* (Paris, n.d.). These typewritten works are available at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.

<sup>40</sup> Schatoff (note 27), pp. 310, 323, 349, 443.

<sup>41</sup> *Izdatel'stvo imeni Chekhova. Katalog 1952–1956* (Chekhov Publishing House of the East European Fund, Inc., N.Y., New York, n.d.).

<sup>42</sup> *YMCA-Press katalog, 1921–1956: bogoslovie, filosofia, russkie klassiki, khudozhestvennaia literatura, pedagogika, uchebniki* (YMCA, Paris, 1956).



B. Zaitsev.<sup>43</sup> The quality of these bibliographies is high, and each contains a number of useful features including, among others, name and title indexes. Other publications include Roger Hagglund's bibliography on Georgii Adamovich,<sup>44</sup> B. Pushkarev's work on S. G. Pushkarev,<sup>45</sup> R. Hughes's list of the works of Gleb Struve,<sup>46</sup> T. N. Bogrinskaia's list of N. S. Timashev's publications,<sup>47</sup> and N. Andreyev's bibliography of George Vernadsky's works for the period 1914–1975.<sup>48</sup>

The individual who has drawn the most bibliographic attention is Alexander Solzhenitsyn. D. Fiene, in his *Alexander Solzhenitsyn: An International Bibliography of Writings By and About Him*, has provided a listing of 2,465 items.<sup>49</sup> Fiene also provides a list of earlier bibliographic work on Solzhenitsyn. Subsequent work on Solzhenitsyn includes W. Martin's *Alexander Solschenizyn, eine Bibliographie seiner Werke*,<sup>50</sup> M. Nicholson's 'Solzhenitsyn in 1976: A Bibliographical Reorientation', with an update for

<sup>43</sup> D. Critesco (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Marc Aldanov* (Paris, 1976); T. Klepinine (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Nicolas Berdiaev* (Paris, 1978); V. Frank (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Simon Frank* (Paris, 1980); L. Dienes (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Gaito Gazdanov* (Paris, 1982); A. Barda (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Zenaïde Hippis* (Paris, 1975); B. Lossky (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Nicolas Lossky* (Paris, 1978); N. Barmache (comp.), *Mikhail Andreevich Osorgin, bibliografiia* (Paris, 1973); H. Sinany (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Alexis Remizov* (Paris, 1978); N. Baranoff (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Léon Chestov* (Paris, 1975–77); D. Schakhovskoy (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Ivan Chmelev* (Paris, 1980); T. Gladkova (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Marina Tsvetaeva* (Paris, 1982); and R. Guerra (comp.), *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Boris Zaitsev* (Paris, 1982). For a survey of the bibliographic work of the Institut d'études slaves see S. Aslanoff, 'Publishing Activities of the Institut d'études slaves and its Bibliographic Works', in M. T. Choldin (ed.), *Books, Libraries and Information in Slavic and East European Studies. Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Slavic Librarians and Information Specialists* (New York, 1986), pp. 295–300.

<sup>44</sup> Roger Hagglund (comp.), *Georgy Adamovich: An Annotated Bibliography—Criticism, Poetry, and Prose, 1915–1980* (Ann Arbor, 1985).

<sup>45</sup> Boris Pushkarev, 'Sergei Germanovich Pushkarev: A Bibliography', *Zapiski Russkoi akademicheskoi gruppy v SSHA* 19 (1986), pp. 14–22.

<sup>46</sup> R. P. Hughes, 'Gleb Struve: A Bibliography', *California Slavic Studies* 11 (1980), pp. 269–317.

<sup>47</sup> T. N. Bogrinskaia, 'Pechatnye trudy Prof. N. S. Timasheva', in P. Sorokin (ed.), *Na temy russkie i obshchie: sbornik statei i materialov v chest' prof. N. S. Timasheva* (New York, 1965), pp. 55–70.

<sup>48</sup> N. Andreyev, 'Spisok trudov G. V. Vernadskogo', *Zapiski Russkoi akademicheskoi gruppy v SSHA* 9 (1975), pp. 168–81.

<sup>49</sup> D. M. Fiene (comp.), *Alexander Solzhenitsyn: An International Bibliography of Writings By And About Him* (Ann Arbor, 1973).

<sup>50</sup> Werner Martin, *Alexander Solschenizyn, eine Bibliographie seiner Werke* (Hildesheim, 1977).



1981,<sup>51</sup> J. B. Dunlop's select bibliography,<sup>52</sup> and W. M. and C. L. Senner's 'Alexander Solzhenitsyn: A Bibliography of Works By and About Him in German 1973-1975', with an update for 1975-1978.<sup>53</sup> Of related interest is Nicholson's bibliography of responses in the Soviet press to Solzhenitsyn.<sup>54</sup>

### Statistical Studies

Several studies provide statistical data on the emigré press. Volkmann's *Die Russische Emigration in Deutschland 1919-1929* provides tables which summarize the numbers of periodicals published around the world.<sup>55</sup> More specific studies include L. Foster's 'Statisticheskii obzor russkoi zarubezhnoi literatury', and P. Miloslavskii's 'Russkaia kniga za rubezhom v 1924 g.: statisticheskii obzor'.<sup>56</sup> Tiunin, discussed above, provides statistical data on the emigré press in Harbin.

### Studies of Emigré Publishing

While many authors have dealt with Russian emigré literature, the number of studies dealing specifically with emigré publishing remains small. One of the earliest of these is V. Belov's *Belaia pechat'*, published in Petrograd in 1922.<sup>57</sup> Other works include Ia. Polonskii, 'Bibliografiia zarubezhnoi bibliografii', which surveys some of the bibliographic work in the field; B. Unbegaun, 'Russkaia periodicheskaiia pechat' v Parizhe do 1918 g.'; A. Lukashin, 'K bibliografii dal'nevostochnoi pressy: studencheskaia pressa Kharbina'; G. Struve, 'Iz istorii russkoi zarubezhnoi pechaty izdaniia P. B. Struve'; M. Vishniak, 'Sovremennye zapiski', and his *Sovremennye zapiski. Vospominaniia redaktora*; B. Nicolayewsky, 'Historique de la presse périodique de l'émigration socialiste russe 1917-1937'; and R. Johnston, 'In

<sup>51</sup> M. Nicholson, 'Solzhenitsyn in 1976: A Bibliographical Reorientation', *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 14 (1977), pp. 462-82; 'Solzhenitsyn in 1981: A Bibliographical Reorientation', in J. B. Dunlop (ed.), *Solzhenitsyn in Exile. Critical Essays and Documentary Materials* (Stanford, 1985), pp. 351-412.

<sup>52</sup> John B. Dunlop, 'A Select Solzhenitsyn Bibliography', in J. B. Dunlop et al. (eds.), *Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: Critical Essays and Documentary Materials* (Belmont, Mass., 1973), pp. 558-69.

<sup>53</sup> W. M. and C. L. Senner, 'Alexander Solzhenitsyn. A Bibliography of Works By and About Him in German 1973-1975', *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 14 (1977), pp. 483-505; 'Alexander Solzhenitsyn: A Critical Bibliography of Works By and About Him in German, 1975-1978', *Germano-Slavica* 3 (1979), no. 2, pp. 127-46.

<sup>54</sup> M. Nicholson, 'Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: A Bibliography of Responses in the Official Soviet Press from November 1962 to April 1973', in *Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn* (note 52), pp. 501-32.

<sup>55</sup> Hans-Erich Volkmann, *Die Russische Emigration in Deutschland 1919-1929* (Würzburg, 1966).

<sup>56</sup> L. Foster, 'Statisticheskii obzor russkoi zarubezhnoi literatury', in *Russkaia literatura v emigratsii. Sbornik statei pod red. N. Poltoratskogo* (Pittsburgh, 1972), pp. 39-44; P. P. Miloslavskii, 'Russkaia kniga za rubezhom v 1924 g.', *Volia Rossii*, 1925, no. 2, p. 237.

<sup>57</sup> Vadim Belov, *Belaia pechat'. Ee ideologiya, rol', znachenie i deiatel'nost'* (Petrograd, 1922).



Defense of the Defeated: *Sovremennye Zapiski* and the February Revolution'. A recent monograph, *Russische Autoren und Verlage in Berlin nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, includes a very useful section on Russian publishers based in Berlin between 1918 and 1928.<sup>58</sup> For related studies, see N. Poltoratzky, 'Russian Literature, Literary Scholarship and Publishing in the United States', and G. Struve, *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii*.<sup>59</sup>

### Bibliographies of Related Interest

In addition to bibliographies dealing specifically with the emigré press, a number of others include material of interest. These are *Bibliografiia russkoi revoliutsii i grazhdanskoi voiny (1917-1921)*, published by the now defunct Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv in Prague,<sup>60</sup> and the *Catalogue méthodique du fonds russe* of the Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre.<sup>61</sup> Both treat a variety of topics and include a significant amount of material from emigré presses. The Menshevik press of both the pre- and post-World War I era is covered in A. Burgina's *Russian Social Democracy. The Menshevik Movement. A Bibliography*.<sup>62</sup> The Vlasov movement is the subject of M. Schatoff's *Bibliografiia osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia narodov Rossii (Vlasovskoe dvizhenie) 1941-1945*.<sup>63</sup> Lastly, Russian dissident publications have been the focus of J. Woll's *Soviet Dissident Literature: A Critical Guide*,<sup>64</sup> and

<sup>58</sup> Ia. Polonskii, 'Bibliografiia zarubezhnoi bibliografii', *Vremennik Obshchestva družei russkoi knigi* 1 (1925), pp. 33-42; B. Unbegaun, 'Russkaia periodicheskaiia pechat' v Parizhe do 1918 g.', *Vremennik Obshchestva družei russkoi knigi* 3 (1932), pp. 31-48; A. Lukashin, 'K bibliografii dal'nevostochnoi pressy: studencheskaia pressa Kharbina', *Novyi Zhurnal* 114 (1974), pp. 252-9; G. Struve, 'Iz istorii russkoi zarubezhnoi pechati P. B. Struve', in *Russkaia literatura v emigratsii. Sbornik statei pod red. N. Poltoratskogo* (Pittsburgh, 1972), pp. 333-51; in the same volume, M. Vishniak, 'Sovremennye Zapiski', pp. 353-60; M. Vishniak, *Sovremennye Zapiski: vospominaniia redaktora* (Bloomington, 1957); B. I. Nicolayewsky, 'Historique de la presse périodique de l'émigration socialiste russe 1917-1937', *Bulletin of the International Institute for Social History* 2 (1938), pp. 5-17; R. H. Johnston, 'In Defense of the Defeated: *Sovremennye Zapiski* and the February Revolution', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 24 (1982), no. 1, pp. 11-24; and Gottfried Katz, 'Russische Verlage in Berlin nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg', in Thomas R. Beyer et al., *Russische Autoren und Verlage in Berlin nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1987), pp. 39-150.

<sup>59</sup> N. Poltoratzky, 'Russian Literature, Literary Scholarship and Publishing in the United States', *Ethnic Literatures since 1776: The Many Voices of America* (Lubbock, 1978), part 2, pp. 455-501; Gleb Struve, *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii* (New York, 1956).

<sup>60</sup> *Bibliografiia russkoi revoliutsii i grazhdanskoi voiny (1917-1921)* (Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv, Prague, 1938). Kraus Reprint, 1976.

<sup>61</sup> *Catalogue méthodique du fonds russe de la bibliothèque* (Bibliothèque de documentation internationale contemporaine et musée de la grande guerre, Paris, 1932).

<sup>62</sup> A. Burgina, *Russian Social Democracy. The Menshevik Movement. A Bibliography*, Hoover Institution Bibliographical Series, no. 36 (Stanford, 1968).

<sup>63</sup> M. V. Schatoff, *Bibliografiia osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia narodov Rossii (Vlasovskoe dvizhenie) 1941-1945*, Trudy Arkhiva ROA, v. 1 (New York, 1961).

<sup>64</sup> Josephine Woll, *Soviet Dissident Literature. A Critical Guide* (Boston, 1983).



B. Stevanovic and V. Wertsman's *Free Voices in Russian Literature, 1950's-1980's. A Bio-bibliographical Guide*.<sup>65</sup>

As this survey has demonstrated, a wide variety of works have been published in the field of Russian emigré bibliography. However, as we have seen, the bibliographies which have been completed vary considerably in quantity and quality. Some were compiled by trained professionals, while others were not. Chronological coverage is often patchy or in need of updating. In terms of universal bibliography, coverage ends in 1924. Periodicals have fared better, but gaps still remain. For example, we know which periodicals were published, but their contents, except for the most recent issues, remain largely unknown. Specialized bibliography faces some of the same problems. In no sense can we consider bibliographic efforts in the field comprehensive or complete.

The bibliographic future of Russian emigré publications remains cloudy. Projects like *Abstracts of Soviet and East European Emigré Periodical Literature*, D. Arans's *Russkie knigi za rubezhom: 1980-1985*,<sup>66</sup> the potential updates of Schatoff, Ofer and Rudnitski, and the work of the Institut d'études slaves are positive signs, but much remains to be done. Annotated guides to memoir literature, periodical and newspaper articles, and studies of the emigré press are clearly topics which need to be addressed. The need for an organized, professional effort toward recording and collecting the products of the emigré press is essential. Without such an effort, this unique and important source will remain under-utilized and possibly forgotten by the mainstream of scholarship.

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<sup>65</sup> Bosiljka Stevanovic and Vladimir Wertsman, *Free Voices in Russian Literature, 1950's-1980's. A Bio-Bibliographical Guide*, Russica Bibliography Series, no. 4 (New York, 1987).

<sup>66</sup> David Arans, *Russkie knigi za rubezhom: 1980-1985* (New York, Russica Publishers, forthcoming).



# Samizdat Recast

W. E. Butler

‘Samizdat’ in its dual meanings has attracted the attention of the Western book community especially in two respects: the early post-Revolutionary publications issued in the Soviet Union, quite legally, at the author’s expense, and the quasi-legal and illegal circulation of unpublished and previously published material in typescript or xeroxed format from hand to hand during the Stalinist and post-Stalinist years. In the Gorbachev era samizdat has been recast and legitimized to help encourage the restructuring of Soviet publishing.

Translated below is the central document embodying the new approach to samizdat. The Statute itself has not appeared in the official gazettes, an all too common fate for departmental normative enactments. The sole publication appears to have been in *Knizhnoe obozrenie*,<sup>1</sup> which also several weeks earlier published a draft of the Statute for public discussion—an exceptionally uncommon practice with respect to departmental enactments though squarely within the spirit of glasnost. We are therefore able to follow some of the legislative history of the document. The Statute was adopted in late March or early April 1988 by Goskomizdat, and amended in February 1989.

Although the quantity of titles published under the new scheme may never be large, conceptually this form of samizdat represents a considerable assault upon the pre-existing system. For decades Soviet authors have been obliged to contend not merely with orthodoxy and censorship, but also with the five-year publishing plan and the paper shortage. Places in the queue were ‘booked’ literally years in advance, severely constraining the scope for spontaneous ‘extra-Plan’ works in a world where commercial demand for books played a marginal role in print runs and no role in pricing.

Opening the door to samizdat at the author’s risk and expense makes room in principle for the legitimate appearance of material which originates outside the author-publisher establishment. Under present circumstances the author’s financial risk is slight, as has been the Soviet publishing house’s risk for all that it has published. It is access to paper and facilities that is being democratized, although, if *khozraschet* continues its present course, sales may likewise acquire real meaning.

The samizdat reform has proceeded in tandem with another: a recasting of the role of the editor in a Soviet publishing house vis-à-vis the director. In the

<sup>1</sup> *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 16 (15 April 1988), p. 2, cols. 1–2, and no. 8 (24 February 1989), p. 2, cols. 1–3.



past the publishing house's list was determined essentially by plan, and the editor's role was confined mostly to textual refinement and copy-editing. In 1988 the editor's functions were restructured to give him considerable scope for commissioning or otherwise finding appropriate manuscripts with a commensurate reduction in the numbers of titles guaranteed a place in the publishing plan.<sup>2</sup> Once a promising manuscript is found, the editor is to bring it along to the stage where it is appropriate to conclude a contract with the publisher.

The Statute below represents the considered policy on the subject, but how far the concept has progressed is best seen against the original draft of the enactment, which was published for discussion on 19 February 1988.<sup>3</sup>

The draft portrayed the legislation as a further step guaranteeing the constitutional freedom of the press in the Soviet Union, a reference deleted in the final text. Books, pamphlets and visual aids (*izoizdaniia*) were contemplated in the draft; however, the 1988 Statute omitted visual aids but drew no distinction in the size of a 'book', so that presumably a pamphlet would qualify, as do posters, postcards and albums. The Statute reaches most, if not all, types of works (belles-lettres, socio-political, scholarly) on the assumption that those categories are broadly construed. The draft was obscure on this point. It mentioned belles-lettres, children's and scholarly works, manuals on housekeeping or personal husbandry, and memoirs.

On the other hand, the draft was draconian in its formulation of what might not be published by authors at their own expense: books 'undermining the basis of the socialist system or contrary to the ideology and policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State; works propagandizing war, coercion, national dissension, racial or national exclusivity, or religious-mystical beliefs contrary to the principles of communist morality; and books describing technology or methods for types of activities prohibited by USSR and union republic legislation' (point 2, Draft). This formula was jettisoned for the more laconic version in paragraph two of the preamble of the 1988 Statute and Article 3 of the 1989 version.

The draft contemplated a maximum print run of 5000 copies, which in the 1988 Statute was reduced to 3000, but was increased as provided in Article 7 of the 1989 redaction. Most important, perhaps, was the revision concerning paper. The draft merely provided that the printing enterprise was by arrangement with the author to determine the size of the book and the print run 'by proceeding from the existence of the paper fund and printing

<sup>2</sup> This article draws generally upon remarks made by the Director of Iuridicheskaiia literatura Publishing House, Mr E. I. Machul'skii, in a talk to the Field Course on Socialist Legal Systems, University College London, arranged through the courtesy of the All-Union Society of Bibliophiles in Moscow on 21 December 1988.

<sup>3</sup> *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 8 (19 February 1988), p. 5, cols. 1-4.



possibilities'. This was correctly perceived by authors as being tantamount to no publication whatever, for the already overburdened printing enterprises would give no priority to publications of this nature. The efforts to address the problem took several forms: the publishing house was introduced into the equation as set out in the Statute, whereas it had not figured in the draft at all. The publisher is required now to reserve part of its planned activities for books being printed at the author's expense, and printing enterprises must make an appropriate provisional allocation from their planned paper stocks to the same end. In a sense the author has 'bought in' to the scheme for the distribution of publishing resources.

The 'second printing' clause for popular books published at the author's expense is strengthened in the Statute by securing the author a royalty and doing so as though the second printing were the first, i.e. a higher rate.

The contents of a book are principally the author's responsibility, and the Statute so provides in Article 3. No special disclaimer is required in a book to that effect. The draft would have required such a disclaimer as follows: 'State and social organizations shall not bear responsibility for the reliability of information or data cited in books published at the author's expense ....'

Under Article 9 of the Statute, the publishing house is assured a 20 per cent 'profit' in excess of actual expenses by calculating this figure into the final account rendered to the author. All other proceeds belong to the author, assuming no second printing. The draft took a different approach: if the author's profit exceeded 30 per cent, the 'excess' profit would have been divided three ways amongst the author, the State budget, and the printing enterprise—a legacy of the pre-economic reform philosophy of enterprise profit.

The reasons for involving the publishing house in the scheme become further evident against the background of the draft. The draft required that an author submit a manuscript ready for production 'in accordance with prevailing State Standards (GOST) and the requisite acts of expert evaluation', although, the draft continued, the printing enterprise might contract with the author to perform those services. Neither party was truly well placed to undertake that work properly, for that has been the speciality of the publishing house.

On the other hand, the draft was more explicit about the price levels to be imposed on authors by the printing enterprise: retail prices for paper and materials, and, if such prices had not been fixed, wholesale prices plus a percentage surcharge laid down by the State Price Committee. The Statute is flexible on the point, presumably in the spirit of the economic reforms, leaving the issue to the parties. The Statute also removed the burden of circulating depositary copies from the author, as the draft contemplated, and left this to the existing procedure.



Under the draft, the author was expected to distribute his book on a sale-or-return basis ('commission principles') through the book trade network unless he chose to dispose of the books by himself. The Statute seems to introduce greater flexibility, including the possibility of the book trade network buying up the entire print run.

In the months between spring 1988 and February 1989, more than fifty titles were published in the Soviet Union at the author's expense. More than 80 per cent were belles lettres and the balance socio-political or scientific-technical works. Nineteen appeared in Moscow, only one in Leningrad, thirteen in various cities of the RSFSR, seven in Lithuania, five in the Ukraine, three in Moldavia, and one each in Georgia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and the Tadzhik SSR. All but seven titles were in the Russian language.<sup>4</sup>

The 1989 amendments to the Statute enlarge the definition of 'publishing house' to include the editorial boards of journals and any other organisations who have the right to publish. The types of publication may now include posters, sheet music, postcards and the like, which in effect extends 'authorship' on this basis to photographers, artists and composers. Authors may attract 'sponsors' if they wish, including both State and social organisations.

Goskomizdat has in principle endorsed this type of publication by creating a Coordinating Council headed by a Deputy Chairman of the State Committee and allocating greater paper resources. Two printing houses, in Moscow and Tula, may specialize in printing this type of 'short-run' book. The number of titles expected to appear in the next year on this basis is 500–750.<sup>5</sup>

STATUTE ON THE PROCEDURE FOR THE PUBLICATION OF BOOKS AT THE AUTHOR'S EXPENSE  
[Confirmed by Goskomizdat SSSR, undated, in March-April 1988, as amended in  
February 1989]

With a view to the further democratization of book publishing, attracting new authors for the creation of original works and reducing the periods for publishing them, a procedure shall be established for the publication of books at the author's expense.

1. An author shall be granted the right to publish works created by him through publishing houses, the editorial boards of journals, and other organisations having the right [to engage in] publishing activity. The publishers shall be obliged to accept such works, as a rule according to their profile, to consider them, and to decide the question of publication on conditions of complete non-subsidy.

<sup>4</sup> See the commentary by V. Rakhmanov, *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 8 (24 February 1989), p. 2, cols. 4–5.

<sup>5</sup> Rakhmanov (note 4).



2. Primarily new or previously published works in the form of books, pamphlets, albums, booklets, postcards, and sheet music may be published at the author's expense.

3. The content of works must not be contrary to Soviet legislation, the interests of the USSR, and the tasks of protecting State secrecy in the press. Responsibility for the ideological and political content of works published at the author's expense and its artistic and scholarly quality shall be borne by the author. If the publisher does not share the positions of the author, it shall have the right to publish the work in the author's version, informing the reader thereof.

4. Works shall be published at the author's expense on the basis of a contract between the author and publisher in which provision is made for: the obligations and responsibility of the parties; the types of services suggested to the author and accepted by him (advice, literary and technical editing, typing, artistic and graphic design, proofing, preparation of the original layout, and so forth); the periods for issuing the publication; the retail price of the publication, expenditures only for work actually performed according to prevailing price lists, reimbursement by the author to the publishing house (according to a preliminary calculation after signature of the contract with a subsequent final account upon issuance); the forms of distributing the publication, and also other conditions.

5. A royalty shall not be paid for the publication of books at the author's expense.

6. Orders for the publication of works at the author's expense shall be placed by publishing houses in the established procedure at printing enterprises. The author may suggest a printing enterprise and paper for the fulfilment of his order on the basis of a preliminary arrangement with one of the printing enterprises. The accounts shall be settled in this event through the publishing house.

7. The print run of publications published at the author's expense shall be established by taking into account the possibilities of the publishing organisations and printing enterprises. However, as a rule, they should not exceed 3–5,000 copies of books and albums, 5,000 posters and booklets, or 10,000 postcards.

With the author's consent, the publishing house shall have the right to carry over an unprofitable publication from the long-term plan to the publication plan for the current year and realise it at the author's expense. In this event the publishing house may retain the print run previously planned.

8. Works published at the author's expense which enjoy public recognition and demand shall have priority when reprinted on the general grounds with the payment of a royalty as though it were the first printing.

9. The author shall compensate the publishing house for expenses incurred plus a profit (or revenue) in the amount of 20 per cent of the actual expenditures for services rendered.

The periods for publishing books at the author's expense must not exceed one year from the date of concluding the contract.

Together with this the publishing houses may arrange accounts with authors publishing at their own expense as percentages of the price list price.

10. Publications published at the author's expense shall be his property and shall be realized, as he wishes, independently or through the book trade network. Book trade organizations shall render services to the author in the distribution of his work.

When realizing publications through the book trade organization, the author shall compensate the necessary expenses by arrangement of the parties. The procedure for



the circulation of control and compulsory deposit copies established by decree of directive agencies 'On the Further Improvement of the Circulation of Control and Compulsory Deposit Copies of Works of the Press' shall be retained as well when issuing publications at the author's expense.

However, the quantity of control and compulsory deposit copies shall not be part of the print run stipulated by the contract. The expenses connected with the manufacture and circulation of control copies shall be borne equally by the publishing house and the printing enterprise.

11. The retail price for a publication published at the author's expense shall be established by arrangement with the author according to the prevailing price list or as a contract price.

12. Publications effected at the author's expense may be financed both by the authors themselves or by State enterprises, including publishing houses, social and creative organisations, or cooperatives who act in the role of sponsor.

13. On the verso of the title page, and in publications which do not have such, above the publication data, there shall be indicated: 'Publication has been effected at the expense of the author' (or respective organisation). The copyright protection symbol shall include the name of the author and year of publication.

14. The publishing house shall include the product published at the author's expense on form No. 1-i, 'Report on the Publication and Sale of Printed Products', using a separate line, and, in the total for the realization of paid services to the populace, the share of publishing house services.

The funds received on this basis may be directed, with the consent of the labour collective council, toward incentives for workers of the publishing organisation and printing enterprise.

15. The book trade organization shall include information concerning the realization of publications at the author's expense in retail turnover and reflect it in statistical reports.

16. Questions connected with the assignment of rights for the republication abroad of works which were first published in the USSR at the author's expense shall be decided through the intermediary of VAAP in the established procedure; the sale of manufactured print runs on the basis of orders from foreign book trade firms shall be effected by V/O Mezhdunarodnaia kniga on a contractual basis with the author.



## Reviews

*The Anne Pennington Catalogue: A Union Catalogue of Cyrillic Manuscripts in British and Irish Collections.* Compiled by R. Cleminson. General editors: V. Du Feu and W. F. Ryan. London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1988. xii + 352 pp., 16 pl. £15.

This union catalogue is the result of painstaking work initiated by Anne Pennington (1934–1981) and completed through the efforts of her colleagues and friends. Two hundred and four items are described, including surviving fragments of codices, inscriptions and additions in Cyrillic in codices in other scripts, and also some official documents (thirteen items) which were not included in Janet Hartley's guide (J. M. Hartley, *Guide to Documents and Manuscripts in the United Kingdom relating to Russia and the Soviet Union*, London, 1987). Manuscripts are grouped according to the collections in which they are to be found, in turn arranged in alphabetical order of town. The lion's share belongs to the British Library (nos. 49–118) and the Bodleian Library (nos. 142–198), but small collections such as that of the Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library in London are also covered. The overwhelming majority of manuscripts are of East or South Slavonic origin, and date from between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, including even a Turgenev autograph (no. 80). There are twenty-nine medieval manuscripts, forty from the sixteenth century, sixty-eight from the seventeenth, forty-two from the eighteenth, and twenty-five from the nineteenth. Among these are dictionaries, primers, grammars, and vocabularies; however, it is instructional and liturgical books in the East Slavonic (one hundred and twenty) and South Slavonic (forty-eight) recensions of Church Slavonic which predominate. There are also Old Believer manuscripts. The manuscripts have often found their way into particular collections purely by chance, but quite a number of them reflect Anglo-Russian relations from the sixteenth century onwards.

Among the best-known are the illuminated *Skazanie o Mamaevom poboishche* (no. 118, studied by L. Dmitriev), the London manuscript of the Vologda-Perm' Chronicle (no. 96, published in *PSRL*, vol. 26, 1959, studied by Ia. Lur'e), Russian abecedaria and dictionaries (studied by B. Unbegaun, J. S. G. Simmons and others) and the *Povest' o smutnom vremeni* in a copy of the 1740s (no. 19) from the collection (1816) of the well-known collector, seller and forger of manuscripts A. Sulakadzev. Also noteworthy is the illuminated (probably Old Believer) *Povest' o Tikhvinskoi ikone Bogomateri* (no. 28). (For information on this *povest'* and its various manuscript versions, see S. Kułakowski, *Legenda o obrazie Matki Boskiej Rzymskiej w literaturze staroruskiej* (Warsaw, 1926), pp. 31–42, and



I. Ivanova in *Trudy Otdela drevne-russkoi literatury*, v. 22 (1966), pp. 419–436.)

The manuscripts are described according to accepted standards, but with a varying degree of detail, and sometimes without due explanation. For instance, we do not know why a Gospels (no. 66) is called 'Moldavian', when the inscription in it states that the manuscript was written at the Monastery of St Onuphrius in Lviv. The same inscription states that the loose gatherings were bought by a priest of Bobrka and that the velvet binding with silver bosses was made at the expense of Pan Mel'nik of Bobrka in 1619, whereas the catalogue description dates the manuscript to the sixteenth century, probably on the basis of the watermarks. But they themselves are dated to between 1503 and 1578, which seems to indicate a rather superficial study. Indeed, the dating of most of the manuscripts by watermarks needs further refinement. It is also a pity that colophons are not always supplied in full, and are sometimes simply mentioned, with reference to a fuller description elsewhere. For ease of use, the indexes are of crucial importance; these are chronological, linguistic, personal and topographical; there are also indexes of names of works, and of incipits. The compilation of the indexes is praiseworthy, but sometimes further explanation is required; for example, there is no reference on p. 323 under 'Ukrainian' to the Ukrainian provenance of the pre-1640 Gospels (no. 25) which has some extremely interesting inscriptions which deserve detailed investigation. In the dating of the manuscripts generally, there appears to have been no attempt to make this aspect more precise; rather, the compiler tends to accept previously established datings. There are occasional inaccuracies. Thus, for example, a Serbian Gospels (no. 204) is dated '15th–16th century', whereas the watermarks indicate that the manuscript dates rather from the first or, more likely, the second decade of the sixteenth century. A Belorussian liturgical miscellany (no. 119), which was owned in 1758 by the Uniate Monastery of Žyrovicy, is dated '17th/18th century', but the watermarks, which are noted, are attributable to between 1660 and 1682, so the manuscript could have been described as dating from the last third of the seventeenth century. The practice of not citing colophons in full means that it is sometimes necessary to take the word of the compiler that, for instance, a Serbian Gospels (no. 77) was copied in the year 1355. The following manuscript no. 78 (a Bulgarian Gospels) dated '1356' shows that this method of dating can tell less than the full story, but, fortunately, in this case the compiler cites part of an inscription indicating that the manuscript was copied 'during 6864 and the ninth year in the indiction' (p. 122), i.e. that it was written between 1 September 1355 and 31 August 1356.

Unfortunately, there are some misprints, e.g. a confusion between similar letters such as 'в', 'б', 'к', sometimes 'у' instead of 'ч', and 'ж' instead of 'а'.



On p. 98 one might hazard a guess that 'нихаитїи' should be 'нижаишїи', but sometimes it is impossible to be sure that mistakes are simply the result of misprinting (e.g. p. 100, 'мушъ погаты' instead of 'мужъ богатъ'). But to track down such errors is no less tedious than to attempt to pick them up in proof.

This union catalogue, which contains fairly detailed information, owes its success in part to the work of those who, in earlier times, described many and studied some of these manuscripts. References to them, as well as a bibliography of their works (pp. 317–21), beginning with the valuable observations of P. A. Syrku on the manuscripts of the Bodleian and the British Museum Library (1902, 1907, 1908), make a more detailed knowledge of the manuscripts possible. This catalogue will be of great service to Slavists of all countries and its publication is an appropriate and imaginative tribute to the memory of the late Professor Pennington.

ANDRZEJ POPPE

Warsaw/Oxford

E. V. Letenkov, *'Literaturnaia promyshlennost' Rossii kontsa XIX–nachala XX veka*. Leningrad, Izd. Leningradskogo universiteta, 1988. 173 pp. 1 r. 90k.

Essentially a very useful brief history of the Russian press, Letenkov's work is divided into two main chapters, with a number of titled subsections in each. The first chapter examines the socio-economic and political factors behind the development of the press in Russia, as well as the creation of its material-technical base; chapter two looks at the capitalization of the press, and the work of 'bourgeois-democratic' journalists and their outlook on the industry and its contributors. The work concludes with a nine-page annotated index of periodicals of the period 1860–1917, providing capsule commentary on the organization responsible for its publication, or a characterization of its political affinities.

After wading through two introductory sections placing publishing history in the wider context of class struggle, the reader finds that the body of Letenkov's work is an informative, statistic- and citation-laden study, albeit brief, of the tremendous growth of the modern publishing, printing and ancillary industries up to 1917. The author brings to his topic a richness of documentation, relying heavily on pre-Revolutionary archival and other primary sources, as well as a number of early Soviet studies.

With the socio-economic and technical context of the pre-Revolutionary press established in chapter one, much of Letenkov's second chapter is spent examining the lives and experiences of three individuals involved with the Russian press—reporter/editor Aleksandr P. Chekhov (1855–1913) (brother



of Anton), writer Vladimir A. Giliarovskii (1853–1935), and editor/publicist Vlasa M. Doroshevich (1864–1922)—whose careers the author regards as interesting examples of ‘bourgeois-democratic’ journalists on the eve of revolution. Letenkov’s work is hardly pioneering, however. Aleksandr Chekhov’s notes have long been available to researchers; there are a number of secondary studies of Giliarovskii; while B. I. Esin’s *Puteshestvie v proshloe: gazetnyi mir XIX veka* (M., 1983), and particularly E. A. Dinershtein’s *I. D. Sytin* (M., 1983), cover much the same general subject matter and individuals. Western scholarship on the topic of the Russian press includes Effie Ambler’s *Russian Journalism and Politics, 1861–1881* (Detroit, 1972), and doctoral dissertations by Louise McReynolds (Chicago) and Mark Steinberg (Berkeley).

Aside from the overly long ideological assault contained in the introduction, the only significant flaw in the structure and content of this work is the absence of a satisfactory conclusion to tie it all together. Instead, the author provides yet another (but thankfully much briefer) lesson in Marxian socio-economic analysis, leaving the reader to hope that a longer, more unified study may be planned.

ROBERT H. DAVIS, JR.

*The New York Public Library*

O. D. Golubeva, *Khraniteli mudrosti*. Moskva, Knizhnaia palata, 1988. 271 pp. Illustrations. Index. 2r.

This latest volume in the *Deiateli knigi* series illuminates the early history of the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg through a study of the Library’s first prominent director, Aleksei Nikolaevich Olenin (1763–1843), and of some of the talented colleagues he gathered around him. The largest portion of the book is devoted to Olenin. Some of the material here will be familiar to readers of Mary Stuart’s recent monograph on Olenin, *Aristocrat-Librarian in Service to the Tsar* (Boulder, 1986), though Golubeva has had access to archival sources.

To say that Olenin led a busy public life would be something of an understatement (he was, *inter alia*, Secretary to the State Council from 1812 to 1827, and Director of the Academy of Fine Arts from 1817 to 1843), but his greatest achievement was the transformation of the Public Library. At the time of his appointment as Deputy Director in 1808 (he became Director in 1811), it consisted largely of the surviving volumes of the confiscated Załuski brothers’ library in Poland together with some collections of manuscripts and prints. There were just four books in Russian. The collections were inadequately housed and in some disorder. Olenin first improved the



environmental conditions within the Library (some twenty years later he would superintend Rossi's famous extension to the original building), and then reorganized the collections according to his own classification scheme. He established the Library's legal structure and laid down the rules and regulations governing its operation. His securing of the copyright privilege for the Library in 1811 was a cornerstone of its development, but even his bureaucratic skills were unable to win a regular purchasing grant from the government.

Olenin firmly believed that the Library should have a universal character—'Biblioteka est' vmestilishche slovesnosti vsekh vremen i vsekh narodov' (p. 21). Admission was to be open to everyone, apart from those who were 'nepristoino odetykh', and in this respect it was unique in Russia. However, in a predominately illiterate society it was inevitable that the Library's readership profile would be a somewhat narrow one. The gentry constituted the bulk of the readership during Olenin's period as Director and the serf who enrolled as a reader in 1817 must have been rather conspicuous. Olenin's intellectual outlook was shaped by the Enlightenment and he considered that the Library existed primarily for readers 'ishchushchikh istinnogo prosveshcheniia' (p. 53). In this spirit the issuing of novels was prohibited in a directive of 1814. Yet he could sometimes seem to be ahead of his time as, for instance, in his unrealized proposal for a complete collection of documentary material, both French and Russian, on the Napoleonic invasion of 1812.

Olenin's conviction that the Library should also become a national centre for scholarship was reflected in his staff appointments. He chose his principal colleagues for their ability to contribute to Russia's cultural development. Golubeva shows that while the Library provided them with a base from which to carry out their creative and scholarly tasks, it also turned them into librarians who made a distinctive contribution to their adopted profession.

Vasilii Sopikov (1765–1818) and Ivan Krylov (1769–1844) were the first keepers of the Russian Division and transformed it into the largest collection of Russian books then in existence. Olenin used library funds to help Sopikov publish his pioneering *Opyt rossiiskoi bibliografii* (St Petersburg, 1813–1821), while the latter's earlier experience in the book trade proved useful in enforcing the Library's copyright claims. Together, in 1815, Sopikov and Krylov produced the first catalogue of the Russian Division. Encouraged and aided by Olenin, Krylov wrote the greater part of his fables while at the Library, but he is also shown by Golubeva to have been a librarian of distinction. To his credit are innovatory uses of corporate author headings and of shelfmarks on catalogue cards.

The paleographer Aleksandr Ermolaev (1779–1828) and the philologist Aleksandr Vostokov (1781–1864) played the same roles for the Manuscripts Division as Sopikov and Krylov had done for the Russian Division. Their



talents kept the Library at the centre of the burgeoning movement to rediscover Russia's past through the discovery, editing and publishing of her manuscript treasures. As well as writing standard works on Russian grammar and versification, Vostokov prepared the Ostromir Gospels for publication and also found time to produce a catalogue of the Rumiantsev Museum's Slavonic manuscripts. Ermolaev, who had been a member of Russia's first archeographic expedition (organized by Olenin), became her premier paleographer and was consulted by many leading scholars, including Karamzin. However, he never succeeded in publishing anything of his own, hindered, perhaps, by an unrewarding passion for gambling. The remaining figure described by Golubeva was less eminent as a librarian. This was Nikolai Gnedich (1784–1833), who was responsible for the Library's Greek collections, but whose main achievement was the translation of the *Iliad* (St Petersburg, 1829).

Though non-cataloguers may find a few passages rather heavy-going, this is a book which will appeal not only to librarians but also to those interested in the history of Russian culture.

JOHN BOWLES

*National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh*

A. I. Akopov, *Otechestvennye spetsial'nye zhurnaly 1765–1917: istoriko-tipologicheskii obzor*. Rostov-na-Donu, Izd. Rostovskogo universiteta, 1986. 128 pp. 90k.

Following a brief but useful historiographical essay, A. I. Akopov's study of pre-Revolutionary Russian specialized journalism is divided into three chapters focusing on the following areas: Russian journals in the field of science and technology; medicine; and lastly, agricultural periodicals. There is an alphabetical index to the seventy-three titles of Russian and foreign-language journals cited in the text.

Akopov's work fills a substantial lacuna in the corpus of Soviet historiography of pre-Revolutionary periodical journalism, namely in the study of titles catering to a more narrow subject speciality than the more frequently examined 'fat' journals of the nineteenth century, or the pioneering publications of Novikov in the eighteenth. Indeed, the major monographic works of such noted students of Russian journalism as P. N. Berkov and A. V. Zapadov largely exclude such titles from consideration. The author points out that this is an unfortunate omission, as the contents of these speciality journals can reveal much about Russian industrial and scientific advances, which in turn exerted an influence on 'many aspects of societal development' (p. 3).

The three chapters that comprise the body of the work examine specific



periodical titles for each subject area in chronological order of appearance. Each chronological grouping (e.g. Russian Medical Journals 1880–1917) begins with a brief characterization of the period vis-à-vis journalism, followed by individual titles in boldface. In essay form, Akopov provides bibliographic information, names of editors, publishers, frequency, names of important contributors, subject matter (often including the specific titles of articles), and the impact or role of the journal in its historical context. Each chapter ends with a short conclusion noting the ways in which specialized journals mirrored the various stages in the development of these fields in Russia.

Akopov's work is the latest example of the increasing scholarly interest in less exploited types of periodical literature; witness L. P. Burmistrova's 1985 study *Provintsial'naia gazeta v epokhu russkikh prosvetitelei*. Like Akopov's volume, it was published in a city on the periphery—by Kazan University—and in a very small print-run.

As a criticism, it is hoped that future editions of this work will include a personal name index, which would facilitate, say, the work of a reader seeking information on a specific editor's activities over the course of a career.

The 141 endnotes reflect both the author's extensive familiarity with the journals themselves, and the relative dearth of secondary studies in this area of Russian journalism. This volume, which appeared in a *tirazh* of only 600 copies, will be much sought after by Western students of Russian periodical journalism. It is hoped that Akopov continues his endeavours in this area, filling a long-extant void in our knowledge of the many specialized journals of the pre-Revolutionary press.

ROBERT H. DAVIS, JR.

*The New York Public Library*

*Istoriia knigi v SSSR. Dvadtsatye gody. Metodicheskie rekomendatsii istorikam sovetskoi knigi.* Sostavitel' V. I. Kharlamov. Moskva, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina, 1988. 80 pp.

Soviet academia has long been enamoured of the genre of collectively authored and multi-volume studies. This variety of scholarly writing permits numerous people to address separate parts of a given problem, and it affords a certain encyclopedic coverage to the completed work. Too often, however, the end product tends to be poorly integrated, bland, highly formulaic and devoid of any overall thesis. With some of these problems in mind, the authors of the current brief essay have composed a series of recommendations for the three forthcoming volumes on the 1920s that will become a central part of what has been announced as a fifteen-volume history of the Soviet book, the first three volumes of which have already appeared.



Their proposals begin with the proposition that a multi-volume work should reflect a broadly socio-cultural approach to the history of the book, and that it ought not to omit any potentially important issues, topics or methodologies. Soviet scholars, they suggest, have tended to fall into one of two schools: the 'functionalists', who examine the book as a 'subject' mostly in terms of its circulation and readership; and the 'semioticians', who are more concerned with the book as a cultural 'object' in itself. Both schools have their virtues, and together, it is implied, they provide a holistic view of the history of the early Soviet book. Thus the final section of the essay sketches a lengthy and complex outline of what the end study should look like, in which no conceivable topic or approach will be left unaddressed.

One can only applaud the open-mindedness and the conceptual pluralism that seems to be guiding this recent effort, a clear reflection of how rapidly the world of Soviet scholarship is changing under the current regime. Moreover, three new volumes on the early Soviet book will surely add a good deal of important information to general knowledge. But this essay gives no idea of what sorts of arguments or hypotheses the proposed study might put forward, or, indeed, whether there will be any clearly defined line of reasoning at all. In the end, one is left with the concern that the all-inclusive approach may perpetuate the problems of poor integration and focus that seem to be inherent in all of these massive undertakings.

GARY MARKER

*Stony Brook, New York*

Thomas R. Beyer, Gottfried Kratz and Xenia Werner, *Russische Autoren und Verlage in Berlin nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg* (*Russian Berlin: Publishers and Writers*). With 35 illustrations by Vasilij N. Masjutin. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Veröffentlichung der Osteuropa-Abteilung, Vol. 7, Berlin, Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz, [1987]. 245 pp.

Russian Berlin, centre of Russian emigrés during the six years following World War I, was the subject of three recent articles published in connection with the 750th anniversary of the city of Berlin. The antiquarian bookseller Natan Fedorowskij contributed a lucid description of the Russian community in Wilmersdorf and 'Charlottengrad' (as Andrei Belyi already called it) to the exhibition catalogue *Die Reise nach Berlin* (*Trip to Berlin*, Berlin, 1987, pp. 242–51); the catalogue of another exhibition *Mythos Berlin* (Berlin, 1987) also contains a section on Russian emigrés in Berlin by Gabriele Gericke (pp. 181–6); and the reviewer wrote an article on Russian publishers in Berlin ('"Blaue Nächte in Berlin ..." Zum russischen Verlagswesen im Berlin der zwanziger Jahre', *Aus dem Antiquariat*, 1987, pp. A189–195). It is a



coincidence that *Russian Berlin* was published in 1987, too, as it is not connected with any event or commemoration. But it did come out at the right time. There is some public interest in this topic now, and students may have found it discouraging to delve into the history of the once thriving Russian publishing industry in Berlin without a proper and reliable guide book, save for the stimulating article by Walter Andreesen ('Berlin und die russische Literatur der zwanziger Jahre', *Mitteilungen. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, Bd. 15 (1983), H. 1, pp. 13–43).

*Russian Berlin* contains two sections that will become standard reference works. Gottfried Kratz's 'Russische Verlage in Berlin nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg' (pp. 39–150) is actually a carefully compiled directory which contains not only addresses, but in addition a variety of data: the date of establishment of a publishing house, the name of the owner or director, the scope of its publications, and statistics of books published in individual fields per year, drawn from some major catalogues. All this is given with exact references to the author's sources. The publishers are arranged in alphabetical order, and there is an index of personal names, as well as of place names and even of streets! There is also an informative introduction on the source material used, and a bibliography. If we look up, for example, Ladyzhnikov, we find the following information. The publishing house Izdatel'stvo I. P. Ladyzhnikova or, in German, I. Ladyschnikow-Verlag, was founded on 19 June 1911. It specialized in Russian belles-lettres, both in Russian and in German translation, as well as Russian drama. There was a theatre department to provide actors with German texts of Russian plays. It succeeded the Bühnen- und Buchverlag russischer Autoren I. Ladyschnikow, founded on 18 December 1905, mainly in order to get copyright for otherwise unprotected Russian publications. The premises were at Berlin W 50, Rankestr. 33 (close to the present Wertheim department store in the downtown area); the managers were Bernhard Rubinstein, Martin Bölcke and Dr Josef Lewitan. In 1933 the owner (who was a socialist) left Germany—'destination unknown'. *Russkaia zarubezhnaia kniga 1918–1924 gg.* mentions 237 monographs published by Ladyzhnikov, in ten fields ranging from philosophy to juvenile literature, and the *Katalog knig vyshedshikh vne Rossii* 482 books (I spare you the detailed statistics). This is indeed a lot of concrete and reliable information, and there is not much a recent article on Ladyzhnikov is able to add (Wolfgang Metzger, 'Eine Brücke zwischen deutschem und russischem Geistes ...', *Marginalien* 106 (1987), pp. 53–63).

During those first few years after World War I several thousands of Russian books were published in Berlin. Printing was cheap then, and the print shops had staff skilled in handling cyrillic texts. Many Russian authors and artists visited Berlin or resided there for some time. Thus quite a number of the Berlin imprints in question are first editions and are therefore



indispensable for the student of Russian literature. If you consider the overall number of Russian publishing houses (188) which Kratz managed to discover and research, you will realize how much work had to be invested in order to lay this sound bibliographic foundation for future studies. The next step, of course, would be a bibliography of Russian Berlin imprints to be culled from many sources, if possible, with locations ...

The other contribution is a collection of publishers' marks assembled by Jürgen Plähn, an expert on Russian rare books and a bibliophile ('Russian Publishers' Signets', pp. 151–186). Thirty-eight marks are listed and also reproduced, and there is an appendix providing Russian library stamps and bookdealers' marks of Berlin origin. It is rather strange that Dr Plähn's name is not mentioned with the other contributors on the title page.

The introductory essay by Thomas R. Beyer, Jr., 'The House of Arts and the Writers' Club, Berlin 1921–1923' (pp. 9–38) discusses the Dom iskusstv and its later competitor the Klub pisatelei. The House of Arts was modelled on the well known Petersburg institution and was to serve as a non-political forum for Russian artists and writers. The meetings took place at the Café Landgraf on Kurfürstenstraße. Many important authors were members of the club, for example Andrei Belyi, Aleksei Remizov, Count Aleksei Tolstoi, Il'ia Erenburg, Boris Pil'niak, Vl. Khodasevich and Vladimir Maiakovskii. Very soon there were political disagreements which led to the establishment of the more conservative Klub pisatelei. The two institutions kept at a distance from each other, while the lecturers were usually the same. On account of the dramatically increasing inflation and the resulting 'Währungsreform', the economic situation in Berlin became rather awkward for many emigrés. Most of them left for good—some, like Belyi, Erenburg, Tolstoi and Pasternak returned to Russia, others went to Paris which was to become the new centre for Russian emigration, or to Prague, or New York.

The concluding essay, by Xenia Werner, 'Vasilij Masjutin's Book Illustrations in the "Russian Berlin"' (pp. 187–245, including thirty-seven pages of illustrations), presents and discusses Masiutin's work in Berlin in the early 1920s. The artist was born in Riga in 1884 and grew up in Kiev and Moscow, where he later became a professor of graphic art. In 1920 he returned to Riga and left for Berlin in 1921, where he became known as an illustrator of Russian and German books. The author presents Masiutin's illustrations for Pushkin's *Boris Godunoff* (Newa-Verlag, 1924), *Die Fontäne von Baktschisarai* (Newa-Verlag, 1923) and *Der eherne Reiter* (Newa-Verlag, 1922), Chekhov's *Der Persische Orden und andere Grotesken* (Welt-Verlag, 1922), Pil'niak's *Povest' Peterburgskaia* (Helikon, 1922), Remizov's *Skazki obez'ian'iago tsaria Asyki*, and Blok's *Die Zwölf* (Newa-Verlag, 1921). As all the illustrations are reproduced, the reader gets a good impression of the scope and talent of this productive artist who never



returned to his country, but remained in Germany where he died in 1955.

While the first two articles are important bibliographical contributions, the remaining essays present interesting and little known details on two remarkable features of Russian Berlin, the literary and artistic circles, and the art of book illustration. An indispensable reference work!

HARTMUT WALRAVENS

*Berlin*

Garth M. Terry, *East European Languages and Literatures*, Vol. IV: *A Subject and Name Index to Articles in English Language Journals, Festschriften, Conference Proceedings and Collected Papers 1985-1987*. Nottingham, Astra Press, 1988. xvi + 128 pp. Index. £15.

This volume is the second supplement to Garth Terry's two earlier bibliographies on the same subject. Together they form an invaluable record of English-language articles published since 1900 in a wide range of sources. Language and literature is defined broadly to encompass peripheral subjects such as journalism, and all countries in the region are included except Albania, East Germany and Greece. Languages are particularly well covered, with separate headings for many of the minority languages of the region such as Chuvash, Avar and Mordvin Erza.

The format of this bibliography makes it particularly easy to use as it is in alphabetical order by subject. This means that it is usually possible to go straight into the main sequence and find what you want without having to go through an index and check a long list of numbers. Cross-references are given under the more general headings such as 'Russian literature' or 'Poetics', and they are also subdivided further within each sequence. This produces under Russian literature, for example, a sequence headed 'Treatment of special themes and topics', with an alphabetical list of subheadings including animals, children, duelling, nature, and women, to quote a few. This sort of very detailed subject approach goes some way to compensating for the fact that this bibliography is not annotated, because it does give a very good idea of the specific subject of the article. The majority of the headings are for individual writers and this is where it is essential to use the name index to pick up all references to a person, because no entry appears under more than one heading. Thus articles about authors, especially if they deal with more than one, sometimes appear under a more general heading, such as 'Symbolism' or 'Poetics', rather than under the individual's name, and the index brings the separate entries together. One particularly useful feature is that articles on individual works are listed in separate sequences under each author's name, making it very quick and easy to see, for example, what has been written over



the last three years on Tolstoi's *Master and Man*, without having to plough through all the entries on Tolstoi to find the one article cited.

Although this bibliography does not claim to be comprehensive it does cover material from a great variety of sources, many of which, such as the *Annual Review of Anthropology* or the *Thomas Hardy Yearbook*, would not automatically come the way of specialists on Eastern European languages and literatures. The list of Festschriften, collected papers and conference proceedings from which three or more items have been taken runs to fifty-nine different titles, and others are spelt out in the entries themselves. Some Australasian material is included which would not be picked up by either the *European Bibliography* or the *American Bibliography*, and it is also of course more up to date than they are.

In all, the topicality and useful format of this bibliography and the care with which it has been compiled should make it indispensable for specialists.

LESLEY PITMAN

*School of Slavonic and East European Studies  
London*

*Acta: čtvrtletník Československého dokumentačního střediska nezávislé literatury.* Redaktor Jan Vladislav za spolupráce Jiřího Gruši a Viléma Prečana. Roč 1 (1987)–. Dokumentationszentrum (Schwarzenberg 6. D-8533 Scheinfeld, West Germany). 1987–.

*Acta: Quarterly of the Documentation Centre for the Promotion of Independent Czechoslovak Literature.* English version editor John Keane. DM 11 per issue, DM 40 per annum.

In 1986 several Czechoslovak emigré scholars and writers founded the West German-based Dokumentationszentrum zur Förderung der unabhängigen tschechoslowakischen Literatur e.V., with the aim of collecting, promoting and disseminating Czechoslovak samizdat publications. One of the Centre's first important ventures was the launching of *Acta*, which undertakes to publish information about Czechoslovak samizdat in articles, reviews, notes and bibliographies. There are two versions of the journal, one in Czech and one in English, and a German version is also being considered. Future projects, outlined in the first issue of *Acta*, include the publication of a catalogue of the Centre's own samizdat holdings and an edition of the collected works of the Czech dissident philosopher Jan Patočka.

Samizdat publishing in Czechoslovakia began in the 1970s and has been growing ever since. There is a steady output of monographs, issued both separately and in series, and periodicals, some short-lived and some of longer standing. Editions are very small, since the most common mode of production



is the typing of multiple copies. This independent publishing has to be seen as an integral part of current Czechoslovak literary and scholarly output, but until now information about it has been very hard to come by. Previously, the best source was the Paris emigré journal *Svědectví*, which published some reviews and bibliographies of samizdat, but there has been no systematic coverage. The first few issues of *Acta* indicate that we now have a journal which will fill this gap.

DEVANA PAVLIK

*London*



## Notes

### The Soviet Institute of the Book

W. E. Butler

The collection of books and manuscripts formed by Academician N. P. Likhachev served in 1918 as the basis of the Paleographic Cabinet of the Archaeological Institute attached to Petrograd University. In 1925 the Cabinet became part of the USSR Academy of Sciences, renamed the Museum of Paleography; in 1930 it was transformed into the Museum of the Book, Document, and Letter, and retitled a year later the Institute of the Book, Document, and Letter (IKDP). The Institute in turn was transferred in 1936 to the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the status of a sector for the auxiliary historical disciplines and seems to have been wound up about 1938.

The IKDP had responsibility for 'studying the development of the book, document, and letter as social phenomena' under the direction of Academician A. S. Orlov. It was subdivided into three sections, one for each of its titular concerns, and a number of research groups which undertook, *inter alia*, to explore the Marxist theory of book studies and the historical evolution of the encyclopedia, and to publish collected documents on the origins of Russian printing, comprehensive catalogues of Russian secular-type books of the eighteenth century, the French book during the French Revolution, and manuscript holdings. The Institute had its own library of *ca.* 80,000 volumes and between 1931 and 1936 issued five volumes of *Trudy*.<sup>1</sup>

Originally located in Leningrad, the Institute was 'reinstitutioned' at Moscow in 1988, as part of the All-Union Chamber of the Book, with a somewhat different calling. Principal tasks of the new Institute of the Book include studying the demand for books,<sup>2</sup> the place and role of the book in modern society, and the state of reading in the Soviet Union. The Institute is under contract to the All-Union Society of Bibliophiles (VOK) to develop a large-scale research programme on the subject: 'Reading in the Modern World'. This is to be an international project in which participation from interested parties in other countries who would like to take part in a comparative study is welcome. Both the Institute and VOK see this project as being part of UNESCO's programme on a decade for the development of culture.

<sup>1</sup> See *Knigovedenie: entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* (1982), p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> A questionnaire surveying reader demand for a series published by Politizdat was issued by the Institute in *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 6 (10 February 1989), p. 15, cols. 1-3.



The Institute of the Book intends to publish its own almanac under the title *Kniga v sovremennom mire*. Articles are invited from writers, scholars, publishers, and anyone else who cares for the fate of the book, especially articles treating controversial aspects of the book. The almanac will be profusely illustrated with engravings, photographs, and bookplates. The almanac will have an international editorial board, including the present writer, under the direction of Professor S. Plotnikov. Professor Plotnikov, who holds the post of Principal Researcher of the Institute of the Book, is a well-known sociologist of culture and Vice President of the Sociology of Art Committee of the International Sociological Association.

Offers of manuscripts are welcome. They need not be in the Russian language, and may be sent to me, for referral to the Editor-in-Chief, at the Faculty of Laws, University College, Bentham House, Endsleigh Gardens, London WC1H 0EG.

### Slavic Librarians' Conference 1990

In association with the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies an International Slavic Librarians' Conference is being held in Cambridge and Harrogate. The Cambridge sessions, from 18–20 July 1990, will discuss matters of practical concern to librarians and information specialists, while the Harrogate panels, which will form an integral part of the World Congress, from 21–26 July, will address more theoretical issues relating to bibliography and book studies. For further information please contact Ray Scrivens, Cambridge University Library, West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DR, England.



## Books Received

Wolfgang Lubitz, *Trotsky Bibliography: A Classified List of Published Items About Leon Trotsky and Trotskyism*. Second, totally revised and expanded edition. München, etc., K. G. Saur, 1988. XXXI, 581 pp.

Eszter Ojtozi, *A Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola Könyvtáranak szláv és román cirillbetűs könyvei*. Debrecen, Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Könyvtára, 1985. 83 pp. Plates. Facsimiles. Indexes.

Eszter Ojtozi, *Slawische und Slaven betreffende alte Drucke der Universitätsbibliothek zu Debrecen I*. Debrecen, Bibliothek der Lajos Kossuth Universität, 1987. 114 pp. Facsimiles. Indexes.

*A Russian Civil War Diary: Alexis Babine in Saratov, 1917-1922*. Donald J. Raleigh, editor. Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1988. xxiv, 240 pp. Illus. Maps. Index. Bibliography. \$29.95.

E. Garrison Walters, *The Other Europe: Eastern Europe to 1945*. Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press, 1988. xiii, 430 pp. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$29.95 (cloth), \$16.95 (paper).



## Contributors

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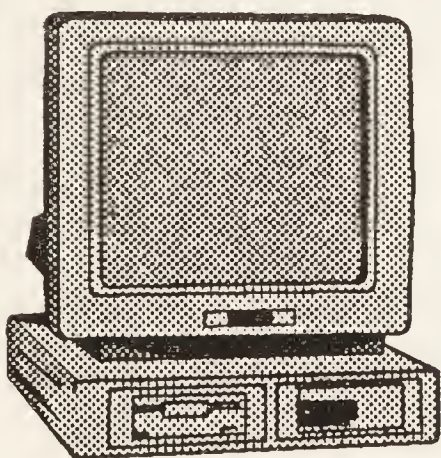
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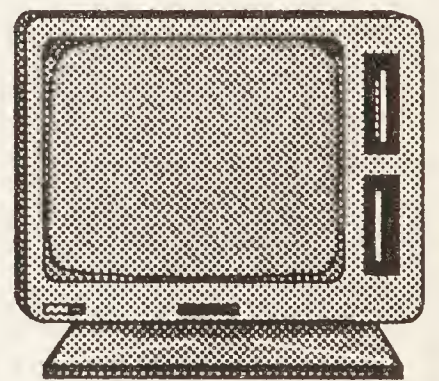
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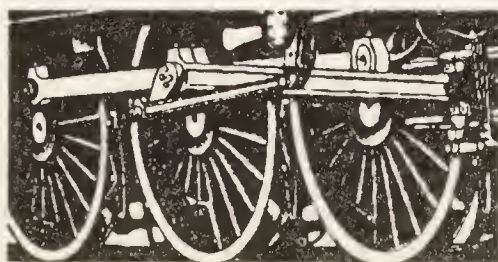
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